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The Nation.

September 14, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

GHOSTS ON THE F.B.I. PAYROLL

The F.B.I. likes to say it's just a bunch of crime busters, dedicated to the apprehension of perpetrators, without fear or favor, in peace and war. A more accurate description would be that the Bureau is a political police force, an ideological propaganda factory and an unaccountable corps of provocateurs and informants in constant competition with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. From the campaign to discredit Martin Luther King Jr. to the murder of civil rights worker Violette Liuzzo to the Cointelpro ion of the antiwar movement, the C often have been agents of political co

It's hardly surprising that the F.B.I. is ose-deep in corruption with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, for that huge and owerful labor syndicate is an important source f support for the Reagan Administration. 'eamsters president Jackie Presser, perhaps aking his cue from Ronald Reagan's stoolie ays in Hollywood, signed on in the early 1970s s an F.B.I. informant. That put him in the miliar role of captive client, and he complied ith the Bureau's demand that he hire "ghost orkers" to fill high-level union positions and t as F.B.I. informants.

In the fullness of time, Presser was threatened th legal sanctions for paying his no-shows, d although the Justice Department dropped e charges, he decided to fire his ghosts. Noth- g doing. For its own devious purposes, the reau forced Presser to keep its informants ding at the checkoff trough.

J. Edgar Hoover dreamed up and developed ny of the numbers in the F.B.I.'s bag of dirty cks, but again we discover that they did not appear with the top cop's demise. The new reau looks cleaner than the old, but someday own ghosts will have to be exorcised, from lar to attic.

IS GORBACHEV IN CHARGE?
Stephen F. Cohen

THE STAR WARS PIE
William Hartung
Rosy Nimroody

NICARAGUA'S MISKITOS—I
Penny Lernoux

PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS
E.P. Thompson

THE WORLD OF 'GRANTA'
Terrence Rafferty

'FREEDOM RISING'
Vivienne Walt

THE CHOCOLATE CAPER

NO BARS FOR MARS AT THE C.I.A.?

JAY PETERZELL

In June 1981 the M&M/Mars division of Mars Inc. filed a Freedom of Information Act request for copies of any documents in the Central Intelligence Agency's files about the chocolate industry in the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations. In responding to this unusual inquiry the C.I.A. conducted more than a routine search for existing documents, even prepared a chart, in apparent violation of longstanding policies.

When the request was received, it caused a little head-scratching at the C.I.A. "It doesn't sound like an intelligence question," one official commented. Still, the matter was dutifully forwarded for processing to the Soviet/East European division of the Office of Central Reference.

According to a former official close to that division, employees there were even more puzzled when they received a memorandum from William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, asking them to do an especially thorough job on the Mars request. One employee, wondering why the office was spending an unusual amount of time on the matter, was told that it was because Casey and Forrest Mars Sr. were friends.

Mars and his two sons, who run M&M/Mars, declined to comment. Kathy Pherson, a spokeswoman for the C.I.A., said a search of Casey's official log showed no record of any memorandum from him on the request. "He did not write a memo of that type, and he doesn't do that type of thing," Pherson added.

But the candy company's F.O.I.A. request to the C.I.A. does suggest that there had been some

(Continued on Page 209)

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LETTERS.

FREE-MARKET PRISONS

Pomona, Calif.

I wish to refute two of the main themes of "The Downside of Private Prisons" [Craig Becker and Amy Dru Stanley, June 15]. The authors write that "unrestrained expansion of the marketplace will aggravate rather than resolve the crisis in corrections" and strongly imply that cruel and unusual treatment (unlike the kind and pleasant treatment prisoners now receive) is a natural result of private corrections management.

First of all, there is no such thing as unrestrained expansion. In order to contract with any government agency, private enterprise involves itself in monumental restraints. Regulations issued by the Federal Bureau of Prisons and state departments of corrections very nearly prohibit the success of private, treatment-oriented detention. I would be happy to send Becker and Stanley a government Request-for-Proposal packet, but only if they promise to read it and to take a test on the contents. The economic relationship between the public and private sectors generates contractual bonds that are, in fact, more vulnerable to regulation than those produced by agreements between two private parties.

The article merely describes the marketplace; it presents no convincing argument that private financing of prison construction will aggravate the crisis in corrections. Indeed, it comes off reeking of sentimental distaste, like a meat-eater's reaction to the stockyards.

By implication the article associates me, my company (Behavioral Systems Southwest) and my work in private corrections with Supreme Court and jury findings directed against two of my Southern competitors. Both those men, according to Becker and Stanley, have poor records as public servants. The contention that the absence of public restraint will make it easier for these fellows to turn into Torquemadas may or may not be true.

My reputation is based on a history of innovative programs and humane care. I had twenty-five years with the California Department of Corrections, specifically in the parole division, and eight more as a developer of treatment programs for alcoholics and addicts in public and private projects. I carried my commitment to improve the lives of prisoners with me to the private sector.

Any investigation of Behavioral Systems Southwest's facilities would find trained staff, master's-level therapists, qualified substance-abuse counselors and program managers whose commitment is to humane care. And where did Becker and Stanley get the information about the converted motels and the barbed wire? We have no such facilities in any of our eighteen programs operating in three states.

Becker and Stanley say, "For the state to abdicate its power of punishment to the lowest corporate bidder will seal off prisons more completely from constitutional and popular controls." Wrong. Private corrections management gets the public involved. It gets us involved as citizens, as taxpayers, as concerned Americans. The prison system is a disaster. I want to make it better and do it at a profit. *Theodore Nissen*

LIVE AID VS. WOODSTOCK

New York City

Although it might be a useful palliative to cast some caustic criticism on the Live Aid telethon, I was amused to see your normally jaundiced eye suddenly cloud over in a rosy haze of 1960s nostalgia ["Icons of Summer," August 3/10]. If Live Aid was an exercise in superficial sincerity, how does that differ from that now-legendary summer icon of sixteen years ago? How was incisive, radical political analysis embodied in that pop event?

Now, we all have fond memories of Woodstock the Festival, Woodstock the Movie and Woodstock the Albums. I was there myself and had quite a good time. But I still find it difficult to take seriously as an important political milestone, let alone a "necessary commitment to opposition." Opposition to what? Parking lots? Bathing suits? Bad brown acid? What did we accomplish—closing the New York State Thruway?

Yes, Live Aid was filled with smug self-congratulation and instant mythologizing. But in that it had more in common with Woodstock than you care to remember. That "long process of co-optation" of the much-lamented "radical culture of the 1960s" had, in large part, been completed by the time of Woodstock. All that was left for us there was to act out our favorite narcissistic fantasies, then to embalm it all in the myth of the "Woodstock Nation." (And didn't that get blown away four short months later at Altamont?)

Live Aid was in many ways a gigantic music-biz P.R. event. So was Woodstock. But Live Aid, for all its preening sanctimoniousness, calculated opportunism and facile sentimentality, at least has a few million bucks in much-needed famine relief to show for itself. It might even shorten that African disaster by a day or two, which is more than those hundreds of thousands of us at Woodstock were able to do for the Vietnam War. *Joseph Angier*

Woodstock never promised us famine relief, peace in Vietnam or "incisive, radical analysis," as Joseph Angier laments. Even as a phenomenon of the elusive "alternative" culture of the period, it could never escape the pressures, demands and rewards of the establishment culture in which it was organized. It was no utopia; it was not the world. But it was the pre-eminent expression of generational opposition in the American 1960s, an unprecedented consciousness-raising and a mass fantasy of community of world-historical proportions. If Live Aid was a liberal instrument for charity, Woodstock was a radical existential earthquake. You say you want a cultural revolution? Well, you know, there was an undress rehearsal in the summer of '69. *The Editors*

BUDDING CONFUSION

Charleston, W. Va.

Are there two Calvin Trillins? Or is the Calvin Trillin who writes a regular column for *The Nation* the same Calvin Trillin who writes regularly for *The New Yorker*?

Recently *The Nation*'s Calvin Trillin wrote a column recommending eradication in the objective case of that splendid pronoun "who." If "whom" is dropped from the English language, how will high-school English teachers keep their charges confused?

Does *The New Yorker*'s Calvin Trillin approve of this outlandish proposal from *The Nation*'s Calvin Trillin? What does *The Nation*'s Mrs. Calvin Trillin have to say on the subject? Even a cursory reading of Trillin's column in *The Nation* reveals that she has little use for many of his ideas about how to shape a better world. And, assuredly, dropping the word "whom" won't yield a better world. . . .

It may be all right with editors of *The Nation* to expunge the word "whom" from the English language, but evidence in every issue of *The New Yorker* is proof positive that no such chilling murder will occur in its pages. Indeed, in the May 6 issue we read: "For a time, there was an influx of hippies—many of whom drifted on and some of whom evolved into respectable shopkeepers or building contractors or school teachers." The author of this sentence is *The New Yorker*'s Calvin Trillin, with whom the word "whom" manifestly is alive and functioning.

Charles P. Lord
W.E. Chilton 3d
Save the Whom Committee

TRILLIN REPLIES

New York City

There are indeed two Calvin Trillins, and I'm the other one. *Calvin Trillin*

AUTHOR'S QUERY

Massachusetts writer would like to interview persons with firsthand knowledge of Operation Phoenix. Please contact Doug Valentine, 395 Blossom St., Fitchburg, MA 01429. (617) 342-3452.

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EDITORIALS.

A Social Disease

Diseases have social as well as biological histories, and it is impossible to consider any affliction independent of the complex cultural syndrome in which it thrives. Cancer is not just a matter of oncogenes and mutagens but a consequence of political decisions, economic practices, technological developments and personal habits. Toxic shock syndrome was identified, publicized, analyzed and eventually made curable in large part because of the feminist movement's aggressive interest in women's health and sexual issues. Approaches to mental illness, alcoholism and severe physical handicaps demonstrate the inseparability of policy and therapy.

AIDS is a social disease in every sense of the phrase. It is transmitted by intimate contact, but more than that, it is encountered in terms of social paranoia, political prejudice and cultural ignorance. AIDS is endemic in equatorial Africa, where it takes its toll in millions, without regard to gender, sexual preference or drug dependence. But Americans care little for foreign victims of deadly agents, even when those are international in scope or provenance. We say that 50,000 died in Vietnam, without mentioning the dead millions who were not born in the U.S.A. The media finds comfort in reporting that few or no Americans were

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aboard a plane that plunged into a distant peak, though the craft was made in Seattle. And who considers the people slaughtered in a far-off jungle, even though the impetus and the wherewithal for the massacre came from the heart of America?

At the start, then, AIDS patients all over the world are affected not only by a deadly retrovirus but by the racial, national and geographical pattern of the epidemic. In the United States, the 12,000 people who have thus far contracted the disease have also been beset by an atmosphere of extreme social squeamishness and a medieval moralism that is proving as lethal as their symptoms.

In a kind of public health vigilantism, discrimination against AIDS victims is spreading, and opportunities for institutional gay-bashing abound. A school board in Queens, New York, defies the superintendent's call to admit carefully screened children who have the disease. The Army announces that it will give all new enlistees a test, now administered to blood donors, which determines the presence of an AIDS antibody, not the disease itself. The screening seems obviously designed to keep homosexuals out of the Army because of their sexuality and not because of any health hazard. Some insurance companies are hiring private investigators to ascertain if applicants are homosexual. That practice could result in the denial of coverage to millions of nonafflicted gay men solely because they are in a high-risk group. And in New York City, with about one-third of all U.S. cases, the government does little to help victims, disseminate health information or fund services that could ease the crisis. Mayor Koch, now up for reelection, defies all medical advice and urges that children with AIDS be barred from school and thus made pariahs.

Because a majority of the victims are homosexual or are otherwise stigmatized by society, the authorities who control medical funds have been unwilling to finance the comprehensive campaigns required to develop preventive and therapeutic regimens. It simply is not true, as Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler asserted this summer, that the government is spending all the money that can be usefully absorbed by researchers. Virtually every scientist and social worker fighting AIDS believes that there is a direct correlation between spending money and saving lives, that it is technically possible to speed up the process of developing a vaccine to prevent the disease and producing antiviral methods to control it.

Only one of many tragic ironies of the AIDS epidemic is that its victims, and those who are at greatest risk of infection, have to wait for its spread to more celebrated groups before much progress will be made. Rock Hudson's case may well generate enough publicity to save thousands of others; Heckler threw a few more millions into the project after Hudson's diagnosis was made public. Now the news media has discovered that heterosexuals, too, are worried about contracting AIDS. In other words, it's time to get serious.

Somehow death and disease don't seem as dreadful when they befall other people—especially social groups that may conveniently be blamed for their own misery. Even starvation remains abstract until it affects people who count in the world, as *The New York Times* confirmed recently in a headline of classic snobbery: "Middle Class in Ethiopia Begins to Feel the Pinch of Famine." It's too bad that a businessman must go hungry or a movie star get sick before the world is moved to action.

No Time for Sergeant

In tests against flying targets, the Sergeant York antiaircraft gun was so inaccurate that the Army detonated explosives aboard the drone planes seconds after the weapon's missiles were fired, making observers think a direct hit had been scored. Close, but no cigar. Such sophomoric deceits cost the Pentagon its only modern weapon to defend ground troops and tanks from air attack and have cost taxpayers at least $1.8 billion in a wasted effort.

When Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger canceled the Sergeant York project last month, he claimed that the most recent round of tests had failed to confirm acceptable performance standards for the complicated, computerized weapons system. Ford Motor Company's Aerospace Communications subsidiary, which developed the Divad, as it is officially known, and delivered the first sixty-five of 618 guns the D.O.D. had ordered, said that Soviet advances in helicopter design had made it obsolete. In fact the gun was a lemon from the beginning, when Jimmy Carter's Pentagon allowed Ford to build it relatively free from government oversight and control. For more than eight years, the whiz kids of the military-industrial complex have been tinkering with their toy at enormous public expense and with little public accountability.

Interoffice rivalries in the Pentagon and some unusual Congressional criticism brought the York down. Last year Congress nearly cut off appropriations for the gun, and when the recent tests showed that it could not be made to work, or even credibly faked, Weinberger had no choice but to scrap the entire project. Few people can remember the last time that either Congress or the Defense Department killed a weapons system, especially in the production phase. These gold-plated gadgets take on a life of their own, enhancing military prestige and fattening corporate profits more efficiently than they perform in the field.

"It is good to kill an admiral from time to time," Voltaire wrote, "to encourage the others." So with weapons. Weinberger sacrificed the Sergeant York to appease those who might question the value of the really expensive systems: the MX, the B-1, Star Wars. The problem with those is not that they might fail, but that they could work. They already have skewed the priorities of public expenditure to the neglect of human needs. They also could blow us all out of the sky, and we're not drones.

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Our Overseas Cops

According to a secret memorandum from the State Department to national security adviser Robert McFarlane, the Reagan Administration will ask Congress for $53 million to train the police and security forces of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama. If Congress approves it, the proposal will put the United States back into the business of bankrolling foreign police forces.

The last such program was developed by the State Department in 1954; by 1962 the Office of Public Safety in the U.S. Agency for International Development was administering it. For twenty years the United States provided funds for training tens of thousands of police officers in seventy-seven nations, including members of Iran's notorious Savak and Uganda's "public safety unit," which carried out Idi Amin's murders. Guatemala's police received nearly $5 million under the Public Safety program in the 1960s; El Salvador's, more than $2 million. From 1961 to 1973, 545 Guatemalan and Salvadoran police were trained in the United States and eight U.S. Public Safety advisers were stationed in Guatemala and El Salvador.

The program was justified as a way to mitigate brutality by foreign law officers, who supposedly would learn more sophisticated methods of investigation, interrogation and detection from their U.S. trainers. That was not the case, however. A 1971 Senate subcommittee report on police aid to Guatemala stated, "The police are widely admitted to be corrupt and are commonly held to be brutal. . . . After fourteen years, on all the evidence, the teaching has not been absorbed. Furthermore, the United States is politically identified with police terrorism." Evidence surfaced that U.S. instructors were teaching methods of torture and in some places had engaged in torture themselves. In 1973, faced with mounting criticism of the program at home and abroad, Congress abolished it. Section 660 of the Foreign Assistance Act, passed the following year, prohibited aid to foreign police forces, intelligence operations and penal systems.

The Reagan Administration, however, has chafed under those restrictions. Testifying on May 16, 1984, before a Congressional subcommittee on the subject of torture, Elliott Abrams, then the Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, cited Section 660 as an impediment to U.S. efforts to improve the human rights performance of governments engaged in torture, and he called for the law's repeal. As though oblivious to the legislative history of 660, Abrams stated:

> There are still a large number of police forces in the world where they simply don't understand that they can effectively do their work without indiscriminate violence and brutality. Perhaps if they learned a little bit more about modern professional police tactics, they would be more effective and more compassionate.

Congress exhibited similar amnesia on July 11, when it authorized a partial waiver of Section 660 to allow assistance to police in El Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras. Panicked by the killings of four U.S. marines in downtown San Salvador, the House of Representatives passed the measure with barely a murmur.

The new State Department proposal may not go down so easily on the Hill. It includes $22 million to police and security forces in El Salvador for communications gear, weapons, helicopter gunships and land vehicles. This enormous outlay will expand the U.S.-sponsored police training program already in operation there. Last year, in flat violation of Section 660, U.S. military advisers trained more than forty members of a SWAT team in the infamous Treasury Police, long considered the most corrupt and brutal of the Salvadoran security forces.

If the new police aid program is enacted, some of the funds will be used for operations against Salvadoran labor unions, peasant organizations and student groups, which have become increasingly active in antigovernment protests. The secret State Department memorandum explains that expanded police assistance is needed to deal with "leftist-instigated labor and student unrest" in El Salvador.

Since 1980, the Salvadoran Catholic Church has documented thousands of cases of individuals who were tortured or murdered or who disappeared following their abduction by the Salvadoran National Police, Treasury Police or National Guard. Despite the State Department's claims to the contrary, those abuses continue. Recently, Jemera Rone of Americas Watch visited political prisons there and obtained extensive testimony from newly arrived prisoners. A 17-year-old pregnant woman had been subjected to suffocation, beating and electric shocks during interrogations by members of the National Guard. She lost her baby. Rone also interviewed a doctor who provided medical assistance to civilians and combatants in Chalatenango province, activities protected under the Geneva Conventions. Captured by the National Guard in late April, he was interrogated for fourteen days, during which he was repeatedly beaten and hung by his thumbs from the ceiling. A tire filled with human excrement was placed over his head, and on one occasion his captors subjected him to a mock execution.

As grotesque as these actions are, they are dwarfed by the organized program of government-sponsored terror in Guatemala, where thousands of army and police killings and disappearances took place in the past year. The State Department memorandum calls for $5 million in aid to the Guatemalan police and security forces. As for El Salvador, there is considerable irony in its receiving the bulk of the funds: the Salvadoran National Guard murdered four U.S. churchwomen in 1980. Will the churchwomen's case disappear from Congressional memories along with twenty years of abuses under the Public Safety program? President Reagan is betting on it.

HOLLY BURKHALTER AND ALITA PAINE

Holly Burkhalter is the Washington representative of Americas Watch. Alita Paine is a research assistant at the same organization.

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

François Mitterrand is, and always has been, a posturing, fawning jerk. Until he became President of the Republic, and thus a person to be treated reverently by the *bien pensants*, he was famous chiefly for one episode of contrived, nasty terrorism. It now looks as if, despite all his eager newfound admirers in Washington, his mediocre tenure of the Elysée will be remembered principally for another one.

Mitterrand's first excursion into the flashy, cheap world of French police intrigue occurred during the roughest bit of the Algerian war. Politicians who were sincerely opposed to French imperialism had found themselves facing the guns and plastic bombs of the Secret Army Organization (O.A.S.), a bunch of rightist *colons* with a Rambo-like approach to domestic liberalism, the softness of journalists and all the rest of it. Fascist types, in fact. To be assaulted by them in the early days of the Fifth Republic was almost a badge of honor. Mitterrand had not acquired such a badge for the very persuasive reason that he had been a stout chauvinist supporter of the French cause in Algeria. But seeing the wind change and seeing his reputation blown along with it, he arranged to have his own car machine-gunned on October 16, 1959. This little provocation was intended to discredit the O.A.S., as if such a thing were possible, and to place Mitterrand in a more gallant light—able, with rotund and confident phrases, to denounce extremists of every stripe. He is like nothing so much as Flaubert's banker in *A Sentimental Education*: "A man so corrupted that he would pay for the pleasure of selling himself."

The three immediate points of interest in the New Zealand murder and bombing are these. First, the objective was clearly not just the vessel but the government. Second, the Mitterrand regime was up to its stiff neck in the business. And third, a Gaullist-dominated Tricot inquiry, which does not deny French involvement, succeeds in suggesting that unnamed other states were implicated in what we are doomed to call "*l'affaire*."

The whole thing is a good parable for the nuclear age. New Zealand is a conservative country, the "suburbia of the Southern Seas," as a disillusioned Welsh poet once termed it. It has elected a mildly reformist government with a modest, parochial objection to the arms race and the madness of proliferation. David Lange is not Salvador Allende; still less is he the Ben Barka type of figure against whom the thugs and conspirators of the French intelligence service have traditionally been employed. Yet within only a few months of its decision to forbid American nuclear ships to call at its harbors, this sedate little democracy finds itself undergoing all the rigors of destabilization. The Tricot report, luridly dishonest though it is, does at least make it plain that Greenpeace and the Rainbow Warrior were not the only targets or the only victims. There was a clear, systematic violation of the sovereignty of New Zealand as well.

In its June issue, *Commentary* carried a long article on the Anzus alliance, which gives the United States the right to use Australian and New Zealand ports for its Pacific nuclear fleet. In denouncing New Zealand for invoking its rights under the terms of the alliance, the article, written by a prominent Administration sympathizer, said, "Either New Zealand must be persuaded to change its policy, or, if it persists, the cost to it of doing so must be made unattractively, and visibly, high." Given that the French agents seem to have acted almost in the open, and bearing in mind that the French *force de frappe* is a mere cog in the NATO nuclear machine, and remembering Mitterrand's slavish willingness to do favors for Ronald Reagan where nuclear matters are concerned, we ought to be asking whether the Auckland bomb was the realization of that threat.

It is strange, isn't it, that neither the United States nor the British government has said anything about this clear case of state-supported terrorism. State-supported terrorism, moreover, that is directed at a member of the Western, democratic, English-speaking family. The objective of this "see no evil" strategy, which is hypocritical beyond even the conventional standards of Reagan and Thatcher, is to reduce everything to a quarrel between French egoism and New Zealand sensibility. Most reporting and comment has tended to follow this line; even *The Nation* editorialized that "we expected better of" François Mitterrand, a statement from which I would like to exempt myself.

There is no mystery about whether Mitterrand did or did not know. The operation cost at least 3 million francs, which means that financial approval had to come from Gen. Jean Saulnier, the President's chief military adviser. So, the question rather becomes, What made Mitterrand so confident of getting away with it? The answer must be that he knew, and was assured, that he was acting as a proxy in the matter, rather as his soldiers are in Chad. This is so much in the nature of his government that Operation Paix Vert must have seemed more the routine than the exception.

And of course it would have come naturally to Monsieur le President. A man who could sit as Minister of Justice in the Cabinet of Guy Mollet during the "pacification" of Algeria is no stranger to the techniques of repression and terror. Mitterrand was a loyal imperialist then, and though the French empire is a rather scruffy and reduced dominion these days, he has not changed his spots. His sole comment on the bombing was to say, "Nuclear testing in the Pacific shall continue as long as the French authorities, and they alone, deem it necessary." So much for the Polynesians and the "civilizing mission."

Like an empire, a nuclear state cannot be a democracy. The fact cannot be emphasized enough, but events emphasize it sufficiently for anyone not totally blinkered by ideology. Just as "our own" governments can be terrorists, so "our own" nuclear systems represent the threat of and not the defense against the totalitarian temptation. Our solidarity should be with the New Zealanders, almost the last people in the world one would have expected to find out both of these truths the hard way.

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SOVIETICUS.

STEPHEN F. COHEN

Six months after Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party, most American commentators have concluded that he is already the undisputed master of Soviet power and policy. The real situation is different, as indicated by the Soviet press and by officials in Moscow. Gorbachev is secure as party leader, but his program calling for "deep transformations" in the economic system has encountered stubborn bureaucratic opposition, even, as he admits, at "top echelons," and his own power to legislate such reforms, much less have them implemented, remains limited.

That the struggle continues should come as no surprise. Soviet political succession has always been a long drama, never a single act. Every new party leader has needed years of patronage, compromise and coercion to extend his authority over broader policy realms. Above all, the fundamental conflict between reformers and conservatives over the Stalinist economic system is now in its fourth decade. And though every General Secretary since Stalin has tried to carry out significant changes, not one has succeeded.

Nor do leadership changes since March suggest the dominant Gorbachev portrayed in so many Western accounts. Except for Grigory Romanov, his only plausible but very weak rival for the general secretaryship, no one has been removed from the Politburo. Its thirteen voting members still include five aged but influential survivors of the conservative Brezhnev era—among them, Nikolai Tikhonov, the 80-year-old Prime Minister who presides over the government apparatus, which is the center of opposition to economic reform.

As for the other voting members, including four promoted under Gorbachev, there is no reason to assume they are merely his political creatures. Like Gorbachev, several are relatively young, reform-minded men who rose rapidly during the brief reign of Yuri Andropov, from 1982 to 1984. But once promoted, former loyalists often turn out to have ambitions of their own, as Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev discovered.

Moreover, Andrei Gromyko's elevation from Foreign Minister to President can hardly be interpreted as a great victory for Gorbachev. The view that Gorbachev kicked him upstairs in order to seize control of foreign policy assumes that Gromyko had monopolized the field and had opposed the new General Secretary. There is no evidence for either assumption. Major foreign policy decisions are made in the Politburo, where Gromyko, who made an unusually personal speech for Gorbachev's candidacy, remains a full member.

Most significant, Gorbachev did not get the ceremonial presidency, which was sought and won by the three preceding party leaders because it gave them head-of-state status in international affairs. His public explanation that he was too busy with domestic problems was nonsense; he had been meeting regularly with visiting foreign leaders and had already arranged summits abroad with François Mitterrand and President Reagan. Some Moscow officials say privately that Gorbachev wants, instead, the powerful office of Prime Minister. If so, he will have to wage a major battle to repeal the secret 1964 resolution, adopted by the Central Committee when it ousted Khrushchev, prohibiting party leaders from being head of the government ministries.

Whatever the real backstage politics, an upsurge of oblique polemics in the Soviet press is additional evidence of Gorbachev's limited power. As always happens when the top leadership is divided, longstanding advocates and opponents of change in various policy areas perceive new opportunities or dangers and thus intensify their own efforts. Since March, the press has been filled with conflicting statements on everything from the Stalinist past to present-day China. On June 21, for example, *Pravda* published a long commentary condemning market reforms and foreign policy initiatives by Eastern European governments. In July, the equally authoritative *Kommunist* featured two articles defending those developments.

Gorbachev's economic policies are at the center of these conflicts. Hinting at more reforms to come, he has called for, by 1987, a restructuring of the entire planning and management system which would sharply reduce the direct control exercised by Moscow planners and ministries over local firms, give enterprise managers considerably more freedom to operate by "economic rather than administrative methods" and cut drastically the vast middle-level bureaucracy of ministerial agencies as "superfluous links." A nationwide expansion of Andropov's limited 1983 "experiment," the program threatens the positions of countless government officials and has aroused strong bureaucratic opposition.

In response, Gorbachev's supporters have stepped up their attacks on "the ministerial apparatus." In an *Izvestiia* interview on June 1, the well-known reformer Tatyana Zaslavskaya virtually accused such "group interests"—a fitting but unorthodox pejorative in the Soviet Union—of sabotaging Gorbachev's policy. And in a remarkably candid speech on June 11, Gorbachev personally dropped the customary fiction of a united Soviet leadership. "The ministries," he charged, "have no interest in the economic experiment . . . in the introduction of those principles." The ministries have representatives and allies on the Politburo and Central Committee and are responsible for implementing those principles, so the obstacles to Gorbachev's reforms are plentiful.

None of this is new. Twenty years ago, the fledgling Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership introduced a similar reform with equal fanfare. It disappeared in the government bureaucracy—as Gorbachev puts it, "nothing . . . left of its principles."

Can Gorbachev therefore never be the reform leader he clearly wishes to be? Although many circumstances remain the same, much has changed in the Soviet system and in the world where it must compete as a superpower. Given Gorbachev's youth, the lagging Soviet economy and a growing reformist mood among the elite, he may eventually succeed, but not without a long struggle that has only begun.

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ARTICLES.

DEFENSE CONTRACT BONANZA

Cutting Up the Star Wars Pie

WILLIAM HARTUNG AND
ROSY NIMROODY

The Administration has quietly abandoned its promise to develop a strategic defense system that, as President Reagan announced in his so-called Star Wars speech of March 23, 1983, will "render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete." Experts in the Pentagon now admit that the most likely role for the strategic defense initiative (S.D.I.) will be to "enhance deterrence." The apparent shift in the program's military goal merely underlines what has been its purpose from the beginning: to preserve the nuclear weapons programs of the 1980s while planting the seeds of the major weapons programs of the 1990s and beyond.

Not surprisingly, the companies that are receiving millions of dollars to find a way to "protect" us from nuclear weapons are the same firms that manufacture them. The early leaders in S.D.I. research funding are the prime contractors for the Trident missile (Lockheed), the B-1 bomber (Boeing and Rockwell), the MX missile (Rockwell and T.R.W.) and the sea-launched cruise missile (McDonnell Douglas). Reagan's military buildup has made those firms even worse spending junkies. By 1983, their ratio of Pentagon contracts to total sales ranged from 21 percent for T.R.W. to 76 percent for McDonnell Douglas.

As these nuclear weapons programs pass their peak production levels in the next few years, Star Wars research awards will tide the companies over until the next major upsurge in military spending. John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists pegs the bill for development of Star Wars weapons at more than $90 billion by 1994. One Pentagon expert on S.D.I. contracting explained it succinctly: "This isn't just a new area of opportunity for the major contractors; they've adopted the attitude that this is their future. That it's life or death. That either they're in or they're out."

Nearly all the major military corporations are in the race for S.D.I. awards (see table on page 202). Boeing, Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas lead the pack, with more than $800 million in Star Wars research contracts among them in 1983 and 1984. In fact, six of the Pentagon's top ten contractors overall in 1984 also rank among the top ten recipients of S.D.I. research funds. Only General Dynamics lacks significant research contracts in the area at this point. Meanwhile, General Motors will have bought itself a place among the top ten Defense Department and Star Wars contractors if its pending acquisition of Hughes Aircraft goes through.

But not all Star Wars contractors are created equal. The Star Wars scheme recommended by the Fletcher commission, established in 1983 to study S.D.I. systems, and currently favored by Pentagon planners calls for a multilayered defense system capable of attacking Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles in each phase of their flight path. Theoretically the deployment of three or four layers of weapons and sensors would increase the protection for the population in the event of nuclear attack. This scenario relies heavily on developing space-based laser weapons. If the Pentagon decides on early deployment of a partial defense based on conventional rockets and infrared homing devices (which locate incoming targets by the heat they produce), Boeing, Lockheed, L.T.V. and McDonnell Douglas will be the biggest beneficiaries. Lockheed is already promoting deployment of a $30 billion system to intercept ICBMs just before they re-enter the atmosphere en route to targets in the United States. One wing of the Star Wars lobby, led by Gen. Daniel Graham, retired, and including the physicist Robert Jastrow and Reagan's arms negotiator, Max Kampelman, is pressing for the Lockheed system to be in place by the early 1990s.

Rockwell, Litton and T.R.W. are researching laser and surveillance systems that would be used to target Soviet ICBMs in their boost phase, before they have left the atmosphere. Lucrative production contracts for those systems, however, will materialize only if the multilayered strategic defense system is built. The key experiment for establishing the feasibility of using space-based lasers for boost-phase strategic defense is being orchestrated by the Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). Called Triad, the project involves T.R.W.'s Alpha chemical laser weapons, Litton's large mirror (LAMP) to reflect laser beams from space and Lockheed's Talon Gold pointing and tracking telescope. Funding cuts and technical problems have already pushed the testing of the Talon Gold leg of the Triad back five years, to 1989. While Lockheed's role in the most conventional S.D.I. technology will keep it among the leading Star Wars firms, the big payday for Rockwell, Litton and T.R.W. awaits major breakthroughs in the exotic technologies for boost-phase defense. It's worth waiting for: a declassified 1982 Pentagon study made public last year by Republican Senator Larry Pressler puts the cost of deploying the most effective possible space-based laser defenses at $500 billion, and former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger estimates that deployment could cost as much as $1 trillion.

As the major firms compete for the largest piece of the Star Wars pie, a number of smaller high-technology companies are doing quite nicely with the crumbs. Although not among the Pentagon's top one hundred contractors, Sparta Inc. of Huntsville, Alabama, and General Research of Santa Barbara, California, received awards to research the

William Hartung and Rosy Nimroody are two of the authors of The Strategic Defense Initiative: Costs, Contractors and Consequences, *the latest release in an ongoing study of the subject by the Council on Economic Priorities.*

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technical feasibility and strategic implications of different approaches to a Star Wars defense. One of the more unexpected S.D.I. contractors is Corning Glass Works. Corning, best known for housewares, is a major supplier for DARPA's Large Optics Demonstration Experiment, which aims to produce the large mirrors needed to redirect laser beams in space. Kaman Corporation—known among peace activists as one of the few Vietnam-era contractors to apply military technology (in helicopter production) to a peaceful use (making guitars)—has also found its place in S.D.I. research, studying the survivability of weapons and communications facilities under a nuclear attack, among other things.

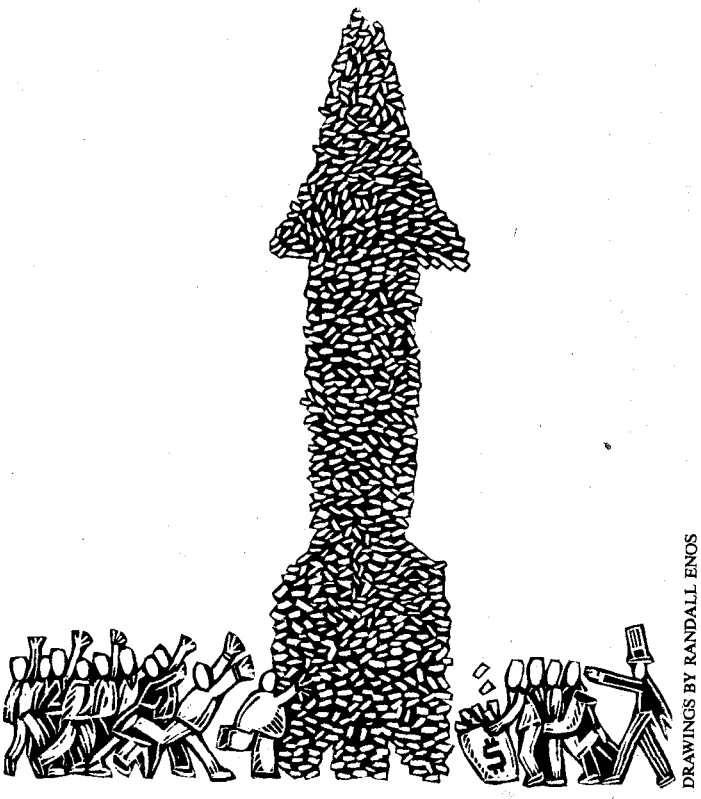
For politicians, as for military contractors, the early allocation of Star Wars funds is a case of the rich getting richer. More than 77 percent of the S.D.I. contracts in 1983 and 1984 went to states or districts whose Congressional representatives sit on committees with the most power over weapons funding: the Armed Services Committee and Defense Appropriations Committee of the House and of the Senate. And 90 percent of S.D.I. awards in those years went to just four states—California (45 percent), Washington (22 percent), Texas (13 percent) and Alabama (10 percent)—all heavily dependent on military contracts for jobs and income. When members of Congress from those states begin to face pressure from their constituents to vote in favor of Star Wars, it will most likely be organized in many cases by the companies themselves, as in the late 1970s, when Rockwell International mobilized its employees to send 80,000 letters to Congress during the campaign to save the B-1 bomber.

In California, awards to Silicon Valley firms have exceeded $250 million, mostly to Lockheed. The Los Angeles area, whose status as the military-industrial capital of the world has solidified under the Reagan Presidency, has received almost twice as much Star Wars money as Silicon Valley, spread among many more companies, including Rockwell, T.R.W., Hughes and McDonnell Douglas. Awards to Washington State have all gone to Boeing's Seattle-area plants so far, and the bulk of this is for the controversial Airborne Optical Adjunct project, which aims to test airborne infrared sensors for use in tracking ICBMs. (Opponents of the militarization of space cite that project as one of the experiments most likely to violate the ABM Treaty, which prohibits the aerial testing of any components of a ballistic missile defense system.)

Huntsville, Alabama, home of the Army's Ballistic Missile Defense Systems Command, is another early beneficiary of S.D.I. Huntsville's population grew from 17,000 in the 1950s to more than 120,000 in the mid-1960s on the strength of missile and space contracts from the Army and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. But in the 1970s the town lost 11,000 jobs as a result of cutbacks in missile and space programs. A new military boom for Huntsville is tied to the fate of the Army's kinetic energy weapons programs, which focus on developing high-speed guided rockets to intercept ICBMs late in their flight path.

Although it is not among the leaders in S.D.I. contracts, Colorado is well positioned to receive an increasing share of Star Wars funding over the next decade. The Pentagon's recent decision to locate the new U.S. Unified Space Command in Colorado Springs will make it "the space capital of the free world," according to Colorado Representative and Star Wars booster Ken Kramer. "In ten to fifteen years' time, space and the technology that goes along with it will be the number one factor in Colorado's economy," he boasts. To help insure that skeptical colleagues don't spoil his vision of a militarized, high-tech Colorado, Kramer has formed a lobbying group, the United States Space Foundation.

Despite the familiar methods and cast of characters, Star Wars is more than just another military pork barrel. Its social and economic effects will be considerable. For example, it will have a staggering impact on the nation's universities. Already scientists are anticipating its effects. James Ionson, who doles out S.D.I. awards for "novel concepts" to universities and research firms, asserts that "virtually everyone on every campus" wants to get involved. "There will be many, many Manhattan Projects in this." Despite Ionson's claim, a campaign to boycott Star Wars research is gaining ground in university science and engineering departments. A petition calling the Star Wars plan "deeply misguided and dangerous," and pledging "not to solicit nor accept S.D.I. funds, and to encourage others to join in this refusal," was drawn up in the physics departments of Cornell University and the University of Illinois and is now being circulated at eighteen major research universities. The signatories include former Manhattan Project scientists Philip Morrison of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Hans Bethe of Cornell.



DRAWINGS BY RANDALL ENOS

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Even scientists who do not oppose Star Wars per se worry about the return of classified research to university campuses. Since the Vietnam War protests, most classified military work has been exiled to nonprofit research institutes like SRI International in Menlo Park, California; Riverside Research Institute in New York City; and M.I.T.'s off-campus Lincoln Laboratories. Already the Pentagon has begun to control the dissemination of scientific findings: at a conference of the Society of Photo-Optical Instrumentation Engineers this past March, it restricted access to several meetings at which unclassified research on high-energy lasers was being presented. The extension of secret S.D.I. research to campuses will undoubtedly accelerate this chilling effect on the conduct of high-technology research, distorting its direction and undermining its application to pressing civilian problems.

Representative Kramer argues that the Star Wars program "will lay the foundation for an educational-vocational renaissance for the American labor force, particularly the unemployed in the smokestack industries." In fact, the jobs created by strategic defense programs will be of the same type as those produced by current missile and space programs, which require up to six times as many scientists and engineers as does the average manufacturing industry and only one-fourth as many production workers. Add to that S.D.I.'s potential for crowding out spending on social programs and the losers in a Star Wars economy far outnumber the winners.

The biggest obstacle in the path of Star Wars is the ABM Treaty, which prohibits not only deployment of ballistic missile defenses but many of the tests that would have to precede deployment. John Domalski of Ford Aerospace pointed out the problem to the Electronic Industries Association's S.D.I. subcommittee last October. "I really don't want to be too cavalier about this," he said. "Anytime one considers testing a weapon of these types in space, the potential to completely stop the show is there." If an aroused public doesn't organize to defend the ABM Treaty and stop Star Wars now, we will be paying for Ronald Reagan's show long after he has left the political stage. □

Top Ten Recipients of Star Wars R & D Contracts
Fiscal Years 1983 and 1984

Company	Value of Pentagon Awards for S.D.I., 1983-84 (in millions of dollars)	Total Pentagon Awards to Firm, 1984 (in millions of dollars), and Rank
Boeing	$364.3	$4,563.8 (5)
Lockheed	240.1	4,967.5 (4)
McDonnell Douglas	236.8	7,684.2 (1)
L.T.V.	211.0	1,655.3 (14)
Teledyne	115.4	425.8 (44)
Rockwell International	88.7	6,219.3 (2)
T.R.W.	76.4	982.5 (24)
Hughes Aircraft	34.8	3,230.5 (7)
AVCO	30.6	872.8 (27)
Litton	25.3	2,440.7 (10)

SOURCES: Council on Economic Priorities, *The Strategic Defense Initiative: Costs, Contractors and Consequences*; and *Aerospace Daily*, April 26, 1985.

NICARAGUA'S MISKITOS—I

Strangers in a Familiar Land

PENNY LERNOUX

In May the government of Nicaragua announced that thousands of Miskito Indians would be permitted to return to their ancestral lands along the Coco River on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border, welcome news for supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution. The four-year rebellion by the Indians, who had lived for centuries on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, has cost the Sandinista government credibility, particularly in Europe, where socialists and social democrats found it difficult to understand the Nicaraguans' inflexibility in dealing with the country's indigenous peoples. Human rights organizations have faced a dilemma: while condemning Washington's attempts to destroy a popular revolution, they could not ignore Sandinista abuses of the Indians. In late 1983 the Denmark-based International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, which usually targets right-wing military regimes, and which strongly opposes U.S. policies in Central America, published a collection of documents on the plight of Nicaragua's 110,000 Miskito, Sumu and Rama Indians which put the Sandinistas in a very bad light.

Because the Indians cannot be neatly categorized as belonging to the left, right or center, the conflict between them and the government has been poorly understood outside Nicaragua. One of the most common misconceptions in the United States is that because some Miskitos have sided with the *contras* they are all counterrevolutionaries. Although the allegiance of a minority has been bought by the Central Intelligence Agency for the purpose of toppling the Sandinista government, Miskito guerrilla leaders say that most of the Indian rebels have no interest in that. They want the Sandinistas to recognize their cultural and land rights, and they have been willing to take arms from anyone, including the *contras*. The Miskitos see themselves as fighting for ethnic goals, not ideological ones. Unfortunately, those goals have been obscured by the larger war between Washington and the Sandinistas. As Miskito Samuel Mercado observed, "The Indians are used by all sides like products to get money."

The Reagan Administration has encouraged the Indian conflict in an effort to show that the Sandinistas are a totalitarian regime; the *contras* have tried to manipulate the Miskitos to obtain foreign funding and approval. Divided on the complex issue, the Nicaraguan government allowed

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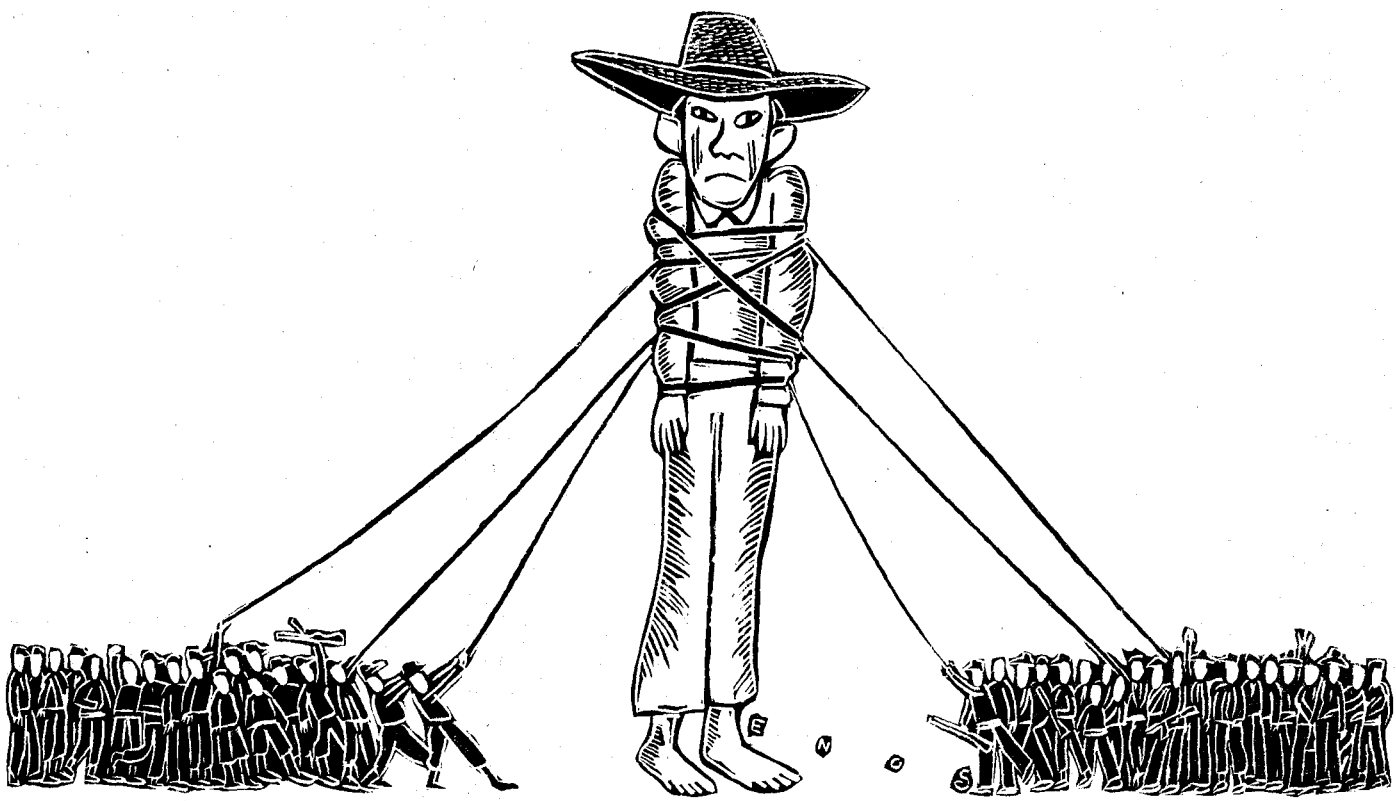
its distrust of the Indians to degenerate into civil war, and with each spiral in the violence it became more difficult for the Sandinistas to understand that ethnicity cannot be squeezed into the mold of class struggle.

The Nicaraguans' recent unexpected decision to allow the Indians to leave the government camps in which they were relocated in early 1982 is therefore a breakthrough. The forced resettlement of thousands of Indians helped fuel the Miskito rebellion, and although the underlying causes of the conflict have not been resolved, the Sandinistas' gesture should pave the way for a resumption of talks, suspended last May, between the government and the indigenous movement known as Misurasata, which stands for Miskito, Sumu, Rama and Sandinistas united.

Meanwhile, Misurasata has opened negotiations with Misura, the Honduras-based Miskito organization founded in early 1982 by C.I.A. puppet Steadman Fagoth Müller, who was later deported to Miami. Fagoth has lost considerable support among the Indians because of his attempts to murder Misurasata's leader, Brooklyn Rivera; his forced recruitment of Indian refugees; and the assassination of dissenting Indians, which he ordered. Moreover, the Indians realize that their cause has been hurt by ideological divisions between the *contra* groups in Honduras and Costa Rica. "[The Miskitos] are not going to listen to any more of these divisions," said Armstrong Wiggins, a Miskito who works with Rivera. "They demanded that Misura unite with Misurasata as soon as possible and that we take the Indian position and stay away from non-Indian politics and try to solve our tragedy and bring peace to our people through a negotiated settlement."

Miskito refugees in Honduras have already made that point with their feet, abandoning government and U.N. camps to head south. Several thousand Indians also left the Sandinista settlements at Tasba Pri, about forty miles south of the Coco River, on the Atlantic coast, after hearing Interior Minister Tomás Borge Martinez's announcement that they were free to go home. Because the government provided little aid for the resettlement, most of the returning Indians walked. With little or no food, they will endure severe suffering during the next few months as they rebuild the villages and sow the fields that were burned by the Sandinistas when the Indians and others were relocated. Nevertheless, the Miskitos are happy to have returned to their sacred river.

Why the Sandinista government decided to let the Indians return to the Coco River is a mystery. The official explanation is that since border violence has decreased and the Indians have developed a revolutionary commitment, there is no reason for them not to return to their homeland. But the fighting is as sustained as it was in 1982, when the *contra* threat impelled the Sandinistas to evacuate the Indians. Nor have the Miskitos altered their conviction that the Sandinistas have repressed them. The government's pragmatism may have resulted from the bad publicity generated by the rebellion or from the recognition that it will "take decades to change the Indians," in the words of a Cuban doctor working on the Atlantic coast. But more likely the government realized that the war was going nowhere. Borrowing a page from the revolution's own history, Miskito guerrillas consistently outmaneuvered Sandinista troops, who were unfamiliar with the inhospitable terrain and received no logistic support from local villages. In addition, Indian agricultural cooperatives in the resettlement



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areas were not self-sufficient, and the camps had become a drain on food supplies. Whether or not the Sandinistas have concluded that their administrative plans for the Indian territories are unrealistic, they are now willing to take a risk and allow the Miskitos to return to the war-stricken Coco River.

Although the resettlement is a promising start toward a resolution of the conflict, many difficult issues remain. If Misurasata is to join the revolutionary process, its leaders must have sufficient confidence in the Sandinistas to be able to work openly in the country. The question is vital because of the contradictory accounts of the death in May of a Misura military commander, Eduardo Pantín, who had begun talks with the Sandinistas about a cease-fire. Radio Sandino first blamed his death in the Miskito village of Yulo on Fagoth and the C.I.A., but it was later reported by Dr. Eldo Lau, head of the Committee of the Nicaraguan Red Cross at Puerto Cabezas that Pantín had accidentally shot himself during a meeting with members of Misura and Misatan, the government-sponsored Indian organization. The Miskitos are skeptical of the latter explanation because Pantín, popularly known as Red Lion, had been a military commander for many years and was thoroughly familiar with the use of guns.

A longer-term issue is the extent and form of autonomy the government has promised to grant. Although Borge announced the preparation of "an audacious" plan for greater self-government, the Indians remain dubious, remembering similar promises in the past that were not fulfilled. The Sandinistas' mere use of the word "autonomy" was a step forward, however; few governments in the hemisphere, the United States included, would even discuss such a step in principle. Consciously or not, the Sandinistas are coming to grips with ethnic reality.

The reality of Moskitia, as the Indians call their homeland, is light-years from the Spanish-speaking lowlands and mountains of Nicaragua's Pacific coast. Whites often find the humid backlands tedious and primitive, but to the Indians the region is a cornucopia of natural beauty, with abundant wildlife for fishing and hunting. Travel is difficult, though. Many parts of the tropical rain forests can be reached only by river transport. Even in the larger towns the roads often peter out in the bush. From the Miskito viewpoint, the lack of roads has been an advantage: until recently, it prevented whites from penetrating Indian territories.

Early on, the Miskitos also learned the importance of playing off the whites against one another. In the seventeenth century they were courted by the British. In return for dominance in the region and protection from the marauding Spaniards, they agreed to operate in Britain's interest. To consolidate their control over the region, the British created a Miskito kingdom. The Indian monarch, however, was never more than a symbolic go-between with the village chieftains, who wished to trade local produce for manufactured goods, particularly muskets—hence the Miskito name. Although the Miskitos, the largest of the Nicaraguan Indian tribes, maintained contact with market economies and powerful nation-states, they retained considerable independence, unlike the peasants and Indians on the Pacific coast. Contrary to the Sandinistas' claims that the Miskitos have no experience of autonomy, they enjoyed a higher degree of self-government during their alliance with the British than did other indigenous populations. That right was incorporated into a nineteenth-century treaty in which the Crown recognized Nicaragua's sovereignty over Moskitia.

The only lasting cultural imprint left by the British was a creolized English. More important was the impact of missionaries from the Moravian Church of Czechoslovakia, who established a beachhead in the area in the mid-nineteenth century (the Catholic Church had made little effort to proselytize among the Indians). By the 1900s most of the Miskitos were converted and Indian pastors gradually replaced those of German and North American origin. The Miskitos' historical repression of other Indians, particularly the Sumus, and their distrust of "Spaniards," as they call Nicaraguans from the Pacific coast, was thus reinforced by religious and linguistic differences. The cultural and racial subtleties inherent in this estrangement are evident even today. For example, to promote its literacy campaign among the brown and black populations of the Atlantic coast, the government uses pictures of white students on billboards. And when Borge said the Indians are "marginated" because "they don't speak Spanish there but Miskito or English," he was voicing a common attitude among Nicaraguans.

Rule by prerevolutionary Managua was exploitative. The Somoza dynasty gave rich concessions to foreign, mostly U.S., companies that fattened on Moskitia's abundant gold, timber and fishing resources. Pay and working conditions were poor, and the Indians saw few of the profits. On the other hand, their communal life remained relatively untouched until the 1960s, when a growing awareness of outside exploitation of their timber reserves led the Indians to organize. In 1972 Nicaragua's first national Indian group, Alpromisu, was founded.

Like other organizations not totally under the dictator's boot, Alpromisu, in its early stage, was hounded by Somoza's National Guard, which frequently disrupted meetings and jailed leaders; the government also succeeded in buying off some Miskitos. The Somoza regime claimed that Alpromisu was encouraging separatism and regionalism and associating with foreign enemies—the same charges the Sandinistas made against Misurasata, Alpromisu's successor.

Because of the remoteness of the Atlantic territories, the Miskitos and other Indians did not play an important role in the 1979 revolution. But the Miskitos welcomed the Sandinista takeover as the beginning of the end of traditional exploitation of indigenous groups by right-wing military regimes. Nevertheless, the majority's distrust—based on a Spanish educational system that treated the Atlantic coast much as U.S. schools do Central America, that is to say, hardly at all—was evident from the start, in the way the Sandinistas accepted the establishment of Misurasata. Their misgivings did not arise from overt racial or ideological prej-

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udices but from the fear common among Latin American revolutionaries that foreigners, which is how they regarded the English-speaking Indians, might undermine the hard-won victory, as they had in Guatemala and Chile. Nor, as Rivera points out, does Marxist ideology offer much guidance for dealing with indigenous peoples. Even the hard-liners in the Nicaraguan government consider the Soviet Union's treatment of its minority groups to be inappropriate. Cuba had no Indian population at the time of its 1959 revolution, and alliances between Indians and Marxist guerrillas elsewhere in Latin America have been primarily tactical, not ideological, even in Peru and Guatemala.

Nevertheless, the Sandinistas gave Misurasata a voice in the Council of State, which proposes national legislation, and when the organization complained that the literacy campaign on the Atlantic coast was conducted entirely in Spanish, Indians were hired to teach the natives to read and write in their own tongue. But two obstacles arose to doom this promising start. One was the Indians' increasing self-confidence, expressed primarily in demands for government recognition of their land rights. The other was the Sandinistas' discovery that Misurasata could not be molded into a government-controlled mass organization, as had Nicaraguan youth and labor groups. Officials often encountered passive resistance to their programs among the Indian population unless the Misurasata leadership approved of the project. The idea that the Indians were merely responding to age-old tribal loyalties escaped the Sandinistas, some of whom felt that Misurasata had become "too successful."

Not all the Sandinista leaders shared those suspicions. Agriculture Minister Jaime Wheelock Román interpreted government plans for "integration" of the Atlantic coast to mean that the local inhabitants would have a say in the formulation and execution of state decisions. But in the closed meetings of the top nine *comandantes* who set policy, the opinions of a minister are sometimes overruled, which is why the government's signals sometimes seem confusing.

Whatever Wheelock's feelings on the matter, and notwithstanding government promises to respect indigenous land rights, agrarian policy did not take the Miskitos' claims into account. Large timber concessions in Indian territory were granted to Mexican and Swedish companies without consulting Misurasata. Theoretically, the Miskito communities are supposed to receive 80 percent of the value of the logs cut in their forests; in practice, the funds are used only for government-approved projects, and in the past, village leaders complained that it was impossible to obtain the money. In late 1980 the government agreed to let Misurasata prepare a land claims study as the basis for negotiating the boundaries of communal holdings, but in February 1981, a few days before the 155-page document was due, the entire Misurasata leadership was arrested. Subsequently, the Sandinistas decreed an agrarian reform program which gave the government the right to determine ownership and allocate all Indian land.

Events following the arrest of the thirty-three Misurasata leaders were typically unreported or misreported.

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'WERE THE ROSENBERGS FRAMED?'

This historic debate, which was sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at New York City's Town Hall on October 20, 1983, has been described as "a political-literary brawl" (Los Angeles Times), at which "a cheering, jeering crowd of 1,500 followed every jab in a fight over history" (The Washington Post).

The main participants in the debate were: Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, authors, Invitation to an Inquest; Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors, and Sol Stern, research assistant, The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth; and Elizabeth Holtzman, moderator. There were also questions and comments from Michael Meeropol, Morton Sobell, Marshall Perlin, James Weinstein, Victor Navasky and others.

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Contrary to Sandinista claims that some deep conspiracy was afoot, the first serious clash between the Miskitos and the government occurred spontaneously. According to Miskito witnesses, eleven Sandinista soldiers appeared at the Moravian church in the village of Prinzapolka during ceremonies celebrating the close of a successful literacy campaign. Soldiers tried to arrest a Misurasata leader, and a clash ensued. Four soldiers and four Indians were killed in the skirmish. In response the government jailed Misurasata's leaders, claiming that they were promoting separatism and smuggling arms to the *contras* via the Honduran frontier. Misurasata was later banned.

The Sandinistas' actions appear to have been triggered by fears that Misurasata would use its land study as a wedge to obtain more influence over local affairs and demand a greater say in the Council of State. Government suspicions of the Indians' motives were reinforced by the subsequent discovery that Fagoth, Misurasata's representative on the Council, had been a Somoza security agent and was working for the *contras*. But though the evidence, including statements by Misurasata representatives, shows that Fagoth was indeed a collaborator with the *contras*, there is no proof that any other Misurasata leader, including Rivera and Hazel Lau, now a Sandinista official, supported the rebels. Rivera, who was later exonerated by the Nicaraguan government, reported that his Sandinista interrogators made all sorts of charges based on "distorted and slanderous" hearsay. "We were supposed to have had clandestine contact with England," he said. The Sandinistas believed such nonsense, he concluded, because they did not understand what Misurasata is. "They work on the level of suppositions and told us confidentially that they are not able to comprehend the Atlantic coast," he said. "It's deplorable, but all political cadres and mediators who were sent to the Atlantic coast were disastrous for the revolutionary policy. They made mistakes almost everywhere because they came with a fixed mentality."

Despite his Somocista past, Fagoth was still regarded by most Miskitos as their leader, and his arrest sparked mass demonstrations in Indian communities. In response, the Sandinistas formed a commission to help restore calm. Fearful of a second wave of arrests, some Miskitos fled across the river to Honduras, and in May 1981, following a conditional release, Fagoth fled to Honduras, where he was subsequently joined by 3,000 Miskito followers. There he set up his own organization, later known as Misura. The C.I.A.-backed *contras*, who had been operating primarily on the western side of the frontier, saw a golden opportunity to use Fagoth's forces and opened an eastern front.

That the Sandinistas chose to lump Misurasata with Fagoth underlines Rivera's point that the Sandinistas did not understand the Atlantic coast. But developments in late 1981 also eliminated the need to consider Misurasata's land claim study and conveniently coincided with a plan drawn up the previous year for relocation of the Coco River Indians to more productive agricultural settlements to the south, where they would farm and live on plots 250 square meters in area, along a road connecting the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. □

To be continued.

PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

It's Time for the Twain to Meet

E.P. THOMPSON

From the moment martial law was declared in Poland it was apparent that the European peace movement's strategy of resisting Western nuclear arms while seeking openings to the East would encounter heavy resistance. By the winter of 1982-83 the evidence for this was accumulating: the harassment of Swords Into Ploughshares members in East Germany, the arrest of Ladislav Lis of Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, the unceasing pressure on the Moscow Trust Group, and the Warsaw Pact summit in January, which combined a series of disarmament proposals addressed to Western opinion with private discussions on re-establishing the "leading role of the Party." It was in these circumstances that I published, in late February, my article on the Soviet "peace offensive" in *The Guardian* and *The Nation* [see "END and the Soviet 'Peace Offensive,'" *The Nation*, February 26, 1983].

It was not well liked. It made some people angry in both the British and the American peace movements. Very possibly I had pitched my article in the wrong tone. I had commenced by warning the Western peace movement that it was "sleepwalking into a situation of extraordinary complexity." That caused offense; people couldn't accept that *they* had been sleepwalking. And yet I think we all had nodded off on our marching feet once or twice. We had not noticed the shift in the terms of political argument that had come the previous year with Reagan's "zero option" scheme. In terms of balance and arms control, Reagan's proposal was clearly specious: in suggesting that the Russians take out not only all their SS-20s but all their SS-4s and SS-5s, he was generously offering that the Soviet Union reduce its European nuclear arsenal to the level of 1960 while not one reduction was made by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The zero option was intended not to disarm any nuclear weapons but to disarm the Western peace movement. Sensing that this was so, the peace movement confronted the zero option with ridicule and refusal; in doing so, it fell not into a Soviet but into a Reagan trap. In 1980 and 1981 the swelling movement had united behind a positive demand—

E.P. Thompson, a social historian and writer, is on the coordinating committee of European Nuclear Disarmament. *This article is adapted from* The Heavy Dancers: Writings on Wars, Past and Future, *published this month by Pantheon.*

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for a nuclear-free Europe! After the zero option, the argument had been subtly tipped so that the peace movement appeared to be arguing on the side of the Soviet negotiating position: that is, in favor of the retention of *x* number of SS-20s. A nonaligned movement ought not to have allowed itself to be maneuvered into the position of seeming to defend any nuclear weapons whatsoever.

It was necessary and honorable for the Western peace movement to expose the spoof of the zero option. And any peace movement deserving the name had to assert its unconditional and implacable refusal of cruise and Pershing 2. Yet mere opposition, without a large and imaginative transcontinental alternative, appeared to cast the peace movement in the role of auxiliary to Soviet negotiators, a casting which Western media and politicians did all in their power to enforce. This perception was also transmitted to a wide public in Eastern Europe, where an unholy alliance of Communist media and Western "free radio" operations projected the Western movement as pro-Soviet and one-sided, and suppressed all mention of the reciprocal demands made on the Warsaw powers.

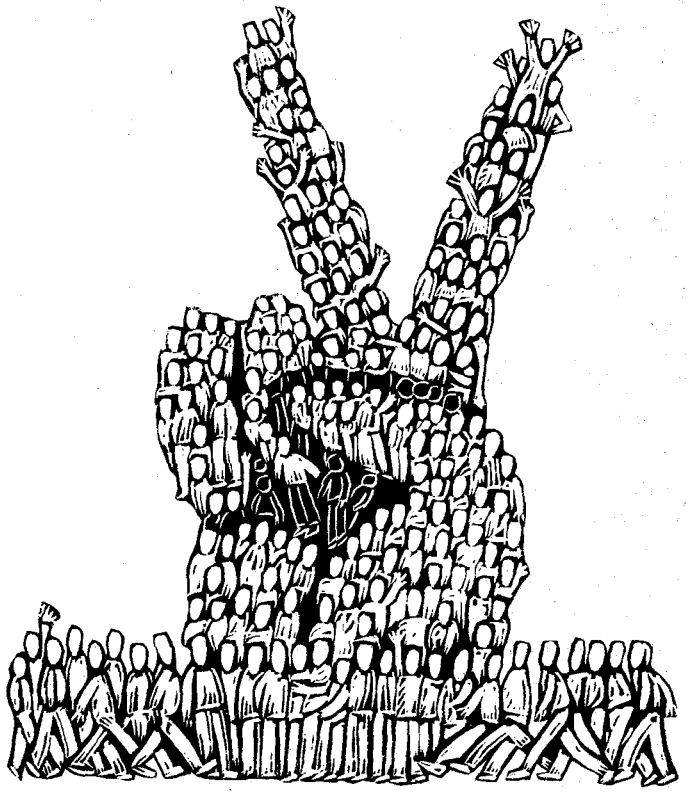
That is why I wrote the Soviet peace offensive article. At the time it seemed to me that it was more necessary than ever, if we were to hold on to middle-of-the-road opinion in Europe and America, to enforce our nonaligned perspective, repudiate the role of auxiliary to either side and even attempt to extract concessions (whether cuts in SS-20s or more citizen exchanges) from the Soviet Union.

The argument of which that article was a part has trickled on ever since. It arose simultaneously in many places and languages: from Holland (Mient-Jan Faber and the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council), from both Germanys (notably the Greens), from Britain (Mary Kaldor and others in *END Journal*), from France, Italy and the United States, but also—commencing from different perceptions—from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The growing confluence of East/West public opinion, the peace-and-freedom mood of 1981-82, was reversed in 1983-84, as the blocs hardened against each other. It seemed to some, as it had seemed in the first cold war, that one must be either for a pro-Soviet peace or for a pro-Western freedom: one could not be for a nonaligned *both*. In the Western peace movement some viewed the issue as a distracting debate about human rights; and I debated it in these terms in *The Nation* [see Thompson and Norman Solomon, "Exchange," April 16, 1983, and June 11, 1983]. Yet I regard that debate itself as a diversion. Human rights are being violated in every part of the globe. But if we consider the problems of peacemaking not only with respect to the instruments and symbols of bloc confrontation (nuclear weapons) but in a full political and cultural perspective, then it becomes obvious that any healing of the blocs entails greater rights of citizen communication and expression, not as a condition for disarmament, or as a wished-for consequence of disarmament, but as an integral part of the process of making peace.

The political problem is neither armaments alone nor human rights alone but the very condition out of which confrontations, new weapons systems and the repression of rights continually arise. That condition is the bloc division of the world, specifically the division of Europe, and that is what we must address if civilization is to survive. It is of the first importance that voices have been answering us from the East in similar terms. The most significant have come from Central Europe, where, in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary, cultural resources are derived from both the Communist and the Western democratic tradition. It was the civil rights organization Charter 77 that initiated a long dialogue with the Western peace movement; and the most luminous essay on the problem of making a democratic peace has come from Dr. Jaroslav Sabata, a veteran first of the Communist Party, until 1968, and then of the human rights movement, for which he suffered years of imprisonment, who is now in retirement at Brno, Czechoslovakia [see *Voices from Prague*, Palach Press/END, 1983]. The discussion continues.

There are still those in the Western peace movement who advise keeping human rights in a pending file. Yes, they would like to see human rights, but realism dictates a two-stage program, like the liftoff of a rocket. First must come disarmament (where the onus lies with the West). Second, there will follow, as the night the day, a period of détente in which ideological hostilities will soften and some democratization will ensue on the other side.

This argument is well intended but it lacks the realism to which it aspires. Détente in the early 1970s did not favor democratization, least of all in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. And those dreadful people, Soviet citizens or Czechs or Poles, who are suffering their own domestic abuses, will make their own decisions and move in their own ways. They will not wait about compliantly until such mo-



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ment as a Western committee (perhaps meeting in Boston or in the Friends Meeting House on Euston Road in London) looks at its watch and signals to them that the second stage, democratic liftoff, may now, with due sobriety, begin.

Those dreadful people will act impulsively and untidily and without consultation, and will make trouble for us. But they will not only make trouble. They will see openings toward peace that we, with our Western perceptions, would never see. They will contribute new themes to our understanding, as Charter 77 and Trust have done. They will greatly enrich the theoretical content of the third way, and stand the theory on two legs instead of one. This now is going forward in Moscow, in Budapest and in the circles of Charter 77 in Prague. The most eloquent plea for the peaceful Europeanization of Europe has come from a Hungarian, Gyorgy Konrad, in *Antipolitics*.

The two-stage-liftoff theory will not work. It is wrong to say that human rights must be a condition for disarmament: that way we will get neither. It is wrong to say that human rights will be the consequence of disarmament: our friends on the other side have not given us power of attorney to make that decision. Both must take place together, as part of a single process, the making of a democratic peace.

That is not to say that this little formula will disperse all complexities. If the forty-year-old knots of the cold war begin to be cut, things will fall apart in unpredictable ways. There will be political lurches in both West and East. Western nations may attempt their own social transitions or may decide to get out of NATO. In the East there may be new renewals and Springs. As a matter of course, the hard men of NATO and the Warsaw Pact will do all in their power to extract benefit for their own side. It is clear that the opaque think tanks of Washington are bubbling with powerful thoughts as to whether or how far independent peace initiatives in the East might be exploited to the advantage of Uncle Sam. Robert English, a learned Theban, an analyst in the Policy Bureau of the U.S. Defense Department—a man so close to the sweaty armpits of power that he must enter the caveat that "the views expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the US government"—surveyed the "Eastern European Doves" in the Fall 1984 issue of *Foreign Policy*:

> The United States should keep quiet and allow the East and West European peace movements to support each other as natural allies in their struggle against the military policies of both superpowers. For however unequal it seems and however threatening the West European peace movements appear to NATO, the greater threat is to the Soviets.

It is good to know that the United States will keep quiet for a while and permit us to do our own thing, although we should remember that there are other agencies, with sweatier armpits, that do not feel bound to follow official government briefs. (They are rather active in Nicaragua today.) But I think the analysis of our learned Theban is wrong. What the growth of an independent peace movement over there will do is threaten not the Russians but the whole rationale of the cold war. What it will strengthen, immeasurably, is the third way of peace.

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Yet that cold involuntary moon will still patrol, tugging the tide of politics this way and that. As we watch new friends appear at our front we must still take care to watch our backs, where the true destabilizers on each side will seek to exploit to their own advantage the motions for peace in the other.

In my view we should search not from some sudden cancellation of Yalta but for a gentler gradient in which disarmament and the opening of human communications go together. Western peace movements have no brief to interfere or to change the social system in the East, as Yuri Zhukov, president of the Soviet Peace Committee, alleges. That is the business of the East's own citizens, if they so wish, just as political changes in the West are our business. But it is normal for us to welcome such advance, in any part of the world, of those rights of expression, access to information and self-organization without which the fluency of citizen communication is not possible.

I have written repeatedly about a healing process between the blocs. This cannot rest on a neo-Leninist strategy in which vanguards on both sides lock onto a common program. While mutual solidarities inevitably will arise, our business should be not to draw this discourse into narrow channels but to throw it outward to the widest public. Our discourse between the blocs, just as our discourse within our own nations, must be a plural discourse and a discourse of alliance. We must talk candidly with the officials, search out their doves but break out of the captivity of conducted peace rituals and repressive hospitality. (As any anthropologist can tell us, the host-guest relationship can be an unequal one of obligation and control. Communist states have developed the hosting of visiting delegations, with heavy constraints of protocol, to a fine art. The problem of transforming formal and invigilated exchanges into informal and open ones is now on our agenda.) We must talk candidly with the democratic opposition, not only about our agreements but about our disagreements. We should pursue the proposal of Charter 77, in its remarkable letter to the END convention in Perugia [see *END Journal*, October–November 1984], of attempting round-table trialogues in which officials, independents and Western movements meet together. And if the spaces for independent citizen initiatives in the East began to close in 1983-84, then in the immediate future we must press them open once again.

This is work not only for those who wear badges and consider themselves to be activists for peace. It is work for all who wish to heal our human culture. It is work for orchestras, for scholars, for writers, for travelers, for young people and for their music. It is perhaps, most of all, work for the younger generations on both sides, who do not bear the traumas of the past.

For some of us in the past five years it has seemed lonely work, which only a few scores or a few hundred were doing. But the first openings in that iron curtain have been made. We ask now for others to come and help us, not according to our directions but by finding their own openings in their own way. Fence-cutters of the world, unite! □

No Bars for Mars

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

kind of prior consultation. The letter, from commodity information analyst Maureen Kane, begins, "I understand your agency has information available concerning the cocoa and chocolate industries in the Soviet Union."

The agency conducted an extraordinarily diligent search on Mars's behalf for information about Marxist-Leninist confectioners. In addition to providing Mars with intelligence reports on worldwide Soviet cocoa purchases, C.I.A. analysts dug up photographs of Bulgarian bonbons and plowed through directories of Czech, East German, Hungarian and Polish firms. They carefully underlined any references to cocoa or candy.

In most cases the agency insists that it will not conduct new research in response to F.O.I.A. requests. For example, a 1982 query by the Center for National Security Studies concerning the sources of weapons for the Salvadoran guerrillas could not be processed, the agency said initially, because "we are neither authorized nor required to perform research or create records on behalf of requester. . . . Further, if our searches surface information, we are not permitted to analyse that information to determine whether it is responsive to the request."

In responding to Mars's request, the agency also appears to have violated its policy of refusing to create documents for requesters. The information retrieved by the C.I.A.'s researchers about the chocolate industry in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe did not answer the most important part of Mars's request: that is, for figures on Soviet bloc "imports and exports of cocoa beans, cocoa butter, and chocolate liquor" for the past ten years. So the agency whipped up a document that answered the question, an unclassified, computer-generated chart titled "Soviet Exports and Imports With Selected Commodities, 1970-79." The selected commodities are cocoa beans, cocoa oil and cocoa liquor. The chart is dated two weeks after the C.I.A. began processing Mars's application. The agency's policy since the late 1970s has been to limit its response to documents in existence before the date on which the agency accepts the request.

"Technically, it is not a response under the Freedom of Information Act," one government expert commented. "This is an example of an agency going above and beyond the F.O.I.A. to answer a specific question. But I suppose agencies can respond to inquiries in ways that go beyond what they are required to do." However, a 1982 C.I.A. memorandum to all its employees notes that Federal standards of ethics provide that "government employees should avoid taking any action which may result in or create the appearance of . . . giving preferential treatment."

Once the documents in the files were assembled, they crept at the usual snail-like pace through the agency's

Jay Peterzell is a research associate at the Center for National Security Studies in Washington.

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F.O.I.A. bureaucracy, and Mars did not receive copies until almost three years after making its request.

"As far as any sort of preferential treatment," C.I.A. information and privacy coordinator John Wright explained, "we have handled a large number of cases in which individuals have written to the director and asked him to expedite. We have informed the director that the legal basis of our case processing requires that we leave everything in queue." Wright added that officials in his office frequently testify in F.O.I.A. litigation and "have to be above reproach."

If Wright is correct, any attempt to influence the process would almost certainly have gone through unofficial channels. In that case, it would have affected the nature of the search but not the speed of the response, and would not have been recorded in the Director's official log.

What was the purpose of the exercise from Mars's point of view? Here we leave the reason and light of the Central Intelligence Agency for the treacherous obscurity of the chocolate industry.

"As far as the industry as a whole, 1981 was a turning point," says Jan Kitt, an analyst with the American Consulting Corporation. "Per capita consumption had been at an all-time low for many, many years. That was the time it turned around and began increasing."

Facing the bottom of a ten-year slump, M&M/Mars announced an aggressive strategy aimed at expanding its production of noncandy snack foods and increasing its share of the domestic chocolate market, every percentage point of which was then worth $52 million.

The division also had just arranged the first sale of M&Ms to friendship stores in China, and the dream of opening up the Red market to Snickers and Mars bars must have been compelling. Mars Inc., the thirty-sixth-largest private corporation in the United States, traditionally has made substantial earnings on the international commodities market as well. "They probably make as much money trading in cocoa, sugar and dried milk futures as they do manufacturing candy," said a former Mars executive.

The request to the C.I.A. was intended "simply to get information on the consumption of chocolate worldwide so as to judge demand for cocoa beans," another former Mars executive recalled. Although Soviet purchases have a significant impact on cocoa prices, he said that the C.I.A. material was of little use to Mars because it took so long to obtain.

This is by far the fullest account of the genesis of the request that I could extract from the company. Current Mars employees, perhaps still terrified of the secretive, autocratic Mars Sr., now retired, who threatened to fire anyone who talked about him with the press, were closemouthed. Typical of their responses were the remarks of Maureen Kane, who said she simply could not talk about the purpose or origin of the request or the usefulness of the C.I.A.'s information. Finally, I gave up.

"Well," I sighed, "I've always heard that M&M/Mars is discreet. It is discreet, isn't it?"

"I'm afraid I can't comment on that," said Kane. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Imperial Theme

TERRENCE RAFFERTY

GRANTA. *Edited by William Buford. Viking/Penguin. Paper $6.95.*

Granta 15, the first issue of this celebrated British literary publication to be distributed in the United States, is a hefty, imposing package: a 288-page trade paperback whose cover features a grainy photo of a military helicopter against the background of a huge tropical-yellow sun, above the words "The Fall of Saigon (Plus: Steiner, Gordimer, Grass, Rushdie, Berger)." On the back, there's a quote from Graham Greene: "A courageous literary magazine." This is all pretty grandiose, but the packaging of *Granta* is a fair indication of its tone: it's *Apocalypse Now* replayed as a university seminar, with a leader who just loves the smell of literature in the morning.

Give this to *Granta*: it has a distinctive voice—the brash, provocative voice of its editor, a young American named William Buford. Buford arrived in Cambridge on a fellowship in 1977, and within two years he had taken over the editorship of this nearly defunct student magazine; in another three years, he had, through sheer force of will, appropriated the magazine itself. He became its owner, cut a deal with Penguin for the right to distribute *Granta* to bookstores in Britain and now has a similar arrangement with Viking Penguin in the United States. His first issue—for which he inveigled contributions from such heavies as Susan Sontag, William Gass, Donald Barthelme and John Hawkes—made a big noise, and its success seems to have encouraged Buford to try to make a yet louder one with each succeeding issue. By the third issue, which appeared in 1980 and contained excerpts from Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* and Russell Hoban's *Riddley Walker*, *Granta* was confidently announcing "The End of the English Novel" on its cover.

Buford's introductory essay in that number is a fascinating, infuriating polemic: an unholy muddle of half-baked visionary esthetics and punk bravado directed at the English literary establishment. He begins with simple attacks on obvious targets—the "bourgeois realist" novel of the Margaret Drabble sort, the timidity of English publishers—and then, apparently realizing that he hasn't staked out a turf narrow enough for *Granta* and its "new" fiction to stand on alone, he goes hilariously berserk, swinging at everything in sight. "The twentieth century—in its modernism or its postmodernism or its literature of exhaustion—has been grounded in an attitude of opposition which is too crude and too simple and too incomplete to be viable today," he writes. Where does that leave Gass, Sontag, Gaddis, Hawkes, the heroes of *Granta* 1 and the first half of his essay? Where, for that matter, does it leave *Riddley Walker*, a postmodernist, structuralist bonanza if there ever was one? In his zeal to justify the cover line that would make *Granta* 3 not just a magazine but an event, Buford gets himself as overheated as a TV evangelist: he writes like a man in the grip not of an idea but of a phrase.

The current number of *Granta* isn't overtly a theme issue like Number 6 ("A Literature for Politics"), Number 7 ("Best of Young British Novelists"), Number 8 ("Dirty Realism: New Writing from America"), Number 10 ("Travel Writing") or Number 14 ("Autobiography"). "The Fall of Saigon" is just the title of the lead article, a very, very long account by the British poet James Fenton of his experiences in Vietnam between 1973 and 1975. But in his editorial, Buford can't resist the impulse to drape a couple of suggestive, important-sounding phrases over Fenton's piece and the rest of the magazine's contents. He speaks of "the writer as lunatic," a concept which is supposed to explain "a great deal about the literature and literary reportage that this century has witnessed." Maybe it explains (or at least describes) James Fenton jumping on a North Vietnamese tank as the victorious army made its way through the streets of Saigon in April 1975, but when Buford tries to stick the same label on Ryszard Kapuściński, the great Polish journalist and author of *The Emperor* and *Shah of Shahs*, the vacuity of the concept becomes obvious. There's nothing lunatic about Kapuściński's writing, whose serene precision is both lyrical and deeply ironic, and even less about his penchant for reporting on coups, revolutions, dictators' demises. Kapuściński's contribution to *Granta* 15, "Warsaw Diary," makes it clear (even if we hadn't already guessed) that he's chosen his subject—how totalitarian regimes sustain themselves, and how they fall—for the sanest possible reason: to understand more fully his immediate world, the Poland he always comes home to.

Howlers like this can make us suspect that Buford isn't reading his own magazine—and in a sense he isn't. He's not reading, in any event, for the individual qualities of a writer's voice, but for pieces of a larger *something*, an idea of literature and politics which, in issue after issue, turns out to be no more than a vague, rhetorical formulation. "The value of literature," he writes in *Granta* 15, "is not merely in its worth as an imaginative construct, but in its relationship to the political event, to history, to what's out there." What's the nature of that relationship? What are its possible forms? Buford doesn't say, and the conclusion of his essay—a ringing eulogy to Fenton, "a literary lunatic who visited places he wasn't meant to, but returned able to satisfy a need for a narrative answerable to the world"—doesn't help at all. If the sloppy, dilettantish reporting and shallow disillusionment of Fenton's piece represent for Buford an adequate "relationship to the political event," he can't possibly know what he's talking about; he's just rolling words around in his mouth. And some of them, besides, have rolled around in there before. In *Granta* 10, Buford characterized travel writing this way: "It satisfies a need. A need for a fiction answerable, somehow, to the world." Given that Buford applies the criterion to both forms, maybe it's not unfair to speculate that, for him, political reporting is just the hottest, most exotic kind of travel writing—that a country devastated by revolution is a place where the smell of literature and the smell of politics mix in an especially heady way.

Actually, there *is* a theme in *Granta* 15, one that Buford doesn't acknowledge. What this issue is about is time and the slow dwindling of literature's

Terrence Rafferty is a writer who lives in New York City.

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"importance" since the end of the Vietnam era: it's filled with nostalgia for the 1960s and early 1970s, a period when writing didn't need to be justified so strenuously—when, in this romance of history, all literary activity seemed to have an extra charge, an energy transmitted directly from the electric, volatile times. Interestingly, the last word in *Granta* 15 is a modest and intelligent essay on the development of young writers, written by Theodore Solotaroff, who edited the paperback magazine *New American Review*, one of *Granta*'s precursors, from 1967 to 1977. Solotaroff's piece looks at first like an anticlimax, a whimper ending an issue full of articles that are meant to explode, to deafen us with the fervor of their commitment: Fenton's narrative; the minisymposium on the effects of the Vietnam War, with comments by Frank Snepp, Norman Podhoretz and Noam Chomsky; Nadine Gordimer's essay on the political responsibilities of writers; Rushdie's celebration of Gunter Grass; Kapuściński's reflections on Poland; Peter Greig's revelations about the Thatcher government's cold-bloodedness in sinking the Argentine cruiser Belgrano during the Falklands conflict. But by placing Solotaroff at the end, Buford shifts the emphasis of the issue away from the articles themselves and toward his own vision of a golden age when ambitious literary magazines like *New American Review* could attract attention effortlessly—in rack size, and without the heavy artillery of manufactured themes.

Buford's nostalgia would seem more poignant, his desperate ambitions more honorable, if *Granta* served its writers better. The magazine has published some extremely good writing in his six years as editor, but even the best work doesn't seem to have a very vigorous or distinctive life in these pages: the strongest individual voices are strangely muted, as if they were being smothered by editorial calculation, by the thesis that covers every issue like a blanket. John Berger's piece in *Granta* 15—a diffuse but moving meditation on folk tales, Rembrandt and photography which turns into a eulogy for the assassinated Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier—proposes a division in the human sense of time, between the time of the life cycle and what he calls "the time of consciousness," which has to do with "the relation between past, present and future, realized as such." And Kapu-

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ściński's "Warsaw Diary," which immediately follows Berger, begins this way: "During a period of crisis I experience more acutely the contradiction between subjective and objective time: between the time I experience, personally and privately, and the time witnessed by generations, epochs and history." The linkage of the two pieces is so obvious, so clearly *willed* by the editor, that both, somehow, are diminished.

Will, after all, is what *Granta* is all about. William Buford's aggressive rhetoric and his overbearing editorial style are signs of militancy, but the battle he's fighting is obscure, spectral—the mind's attempt to recapture a territory that was lost years ago, if it ever existed. His passion isn't for a particular kind of writing (much less, particular writers), or for a specific set of political ideas: it's for a *Zeitgeist*, a sixties-like spirit that would bring the world back into the seminar rooms and literary journals and make all our formulations there seem, once again, heroic. And if we can't find the *Zeitgeist* "out there," *Granta* is determined to will it into being for us, to slash and blast a space out of the jungle. Buford's there right now, in his classroom/compound, listening to his own voice over and over, plotting the next campaign in his phantom war and gathering the army of his dreams: thousands of writers and readers who've spent two years in graduate school and two weeks in the Third World. □

Solidarity Under Siege

DAVID BENSMAN

THE SHARE ECONOMY: Conquering Stagflation. *By Martin L. Weitzman. Harvard University Press. 167 pp. $15.*

INSIDE THE CIRCLE: A Union Guide to QWL. *By Mike Parker. Labor Notes/South End Press. 160 pp. Paper $10. (Available from* Labor Notes, *Box 20001, Detroit, MI 48220.)*

Free-market competition is one of the articles of faith in capitalist democracies: when it prevails, corporations produce enough high-quality goods at low prices to employ everyone willing to work. Here, then, is a belief that presumably unites businessmen and workers. Yet each group behaves as if competition were a plague to be avoided at all costs. Businessmen try to avoid the low prices and profits they fear competition will foster; workers understandably resist low wages, speedups and widespread unemployment. To a remarkable degree, both groups have been successful. Our economy does not function competitively despite our lip service to free-market ideology. A long line of business writers, from Henry Demarest Lloyd, Ida Tarbell and Thorstein Veblen to John Kenneth Galbraith and Alfred duPont Chandler, have shown how corporations restrict output, plan production, buy up competitors or force them out of business.

Workers lack the economic power of corporations to impose their needs on the market, but they have been able to use their solidarity to lobby for protective legislation and immigration restrictions and to negotiate union shop contracts and seniority provisions. By these means, working people have sheltered themselves from some of the storms of competition in the past half-century.

This combination of free-market rhetoric and anticompetitive practice, characteristic of U.S. capitalism for most of its history, reached a fairly reliable equilibrium during "the golden age of capitalism," following World War II. But in the past twenty years, corporate executives in search of higher profit margins and greater freedom from union demands have inadvertently, for the most part, created a more competitive global economy. The decision on the part of a number of businesses to invest and produce abroad, coupled with government decisions to rebuild the European and Japanese economies, has created a situation in which many corporations are no longer free to set their produc-

David Bensman directs the graduate program in labor studies at Rutgers University. He is the author of The Practice of Solidarity: American Hatters in the Nineteenth Century *(University of Illinois Press) and co-author, with Roberta Lynch, of* Rusted Dreams: Hard Times in a Chicago Steel Community, *to be published by McGraw-Hill next spring.*

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tion and price levels and unions are no longer able to negotiate ever higher wages.

The results have been chaotic and painful. Many corporations have fled high-wage, high-tax regions for the Sun Belt and for foreign havens. Mergers and hostile takeovers have dramatically concentrated corporate ownership. Powerful corporations have tumbled, and whole industries now teeter on the brink of collapse. And, as always happens in a competitive economy, a small group of businessmen—mainly bankers, in the present instance—have emerged more powerful than before.

Intensified competition has taken its toll on American labor's ability to protect its members' interests. Unemployment has risen while workers' wages have fallen. Some corporations, finding themselves hard-pressed by foreign competitors and nonunion domestic rivals, have demanded and often received union givebacks in wages and work conditions that have undermined workers' control over their jobs. Other corporations have taken advantage of the opportunities offered by new technology and new managerial capabilities to establish foreign operations: in such cases, U.S. workers must compete with their company's foreign employees.

The weakening of trade unions has also enabled corporations to eliminate many of the legislative safeguards against harsh competition that workers have won since 1935. The deregulation of the airline and trucking industries, for example, has enabled many companies to set up nonunion subsidiaries which have helped undermine the standard of living of workers in unionized firms.

As the balance of power has shifted away from working people and their institutions, it is not surprising that an ideological climate has developed in which workers' reliance on solidarity as the vehicle for restraining competition has been widely rejected. Over the past five years, politicians and would-be policy-makers have offered a host of remedies for the decline in working-class power and living standards—profit-sharing, labor-management cooperation, a lower minimum wage, enterprise zones and job retraining chief among them—and almost all of these share a central premise: American workers can prosper in a healthy, competitive, high-technology economy if they abandon their traditional means of defending themselves.

Two recent books take opposing positions on the dilemma of American workers. *The Share Economy: Conquering Stagflation*, an elegant treatise by M.I.T. economist Martin L. Weitzman, argues that workers are doomed to mass unemployment and a stagnant standard of living as long as they adhere to their traditional system of regulating pay through standardized wage rates. Changing that wage system, he maintains, is the key to unlocking the stagflation conundrum and opening the way to full employment.

Under the current wage system, Weitzman argues, employers continue to take on workers until the last one hired produces for the company the same amount in revenue as the company spends to employ that worker. Unlike many economists, Weitzman acknowledges that employers set the revenue they desire and price accordingly. Thus, when demand falls, reducing prices only leads to decreased revenues. That's why the employer considers laying workers off as the only option. Hence, stagflation.

Weitzman's solution is as elegant, and simple, as his analysis. If unions bargained over what share of their employer's revenue they should receive rather than over wage levels, companies would not lay off workers whenever demand dipped. If a company knew that the cost of adding a new worker would be only, say, two thirds of what it had been paying those previously hired, the company would find it profitable to expand during an economic slump, not contract. And each individual worker would lose only a little, for the employer's reduction in payments to labor would be spread out over the entire work force.

At a time when all other remedies for mass unemployment seem to have failed, Weitzman's proposal has great appeal. It seems to offer a painless solution, the free lunch. In addition, the argument confirms the longstanding suspicions of the middle class that workers make too much, and its call for workers self-sacrifice will strike a responsive chord among those who are resentful of labor in general.

But the world out there is a bit more complicated than Weitzman would have us think. First of all, we know that inflation has come down, that companies have been reducing their prices. This suggests that worker demands for higher wages were not as important a cause of inflation in the 1970s as Weitzman believes. A more complete account of the causes would include the effects of oil price increases and bank deregulation, and the growth of an inflation psychology, a self-fulfilling prophecy: prices are going to go up, so you'd better raise your prices to keep up.

In addition, Weitzman's analysis of employer decisions to hire and fire sounds as if it were written several centuries ago. Eighteenth-century pinmakers may have been able to calculate how much more revenue they would receive if they hired an additional employee, but how does that apply to companies like U.S. Steel or General Motors which put on or lay off entire shifts? Weitzman never mentions corporate decisions to invest in or shut down capital equipment.

Yet the fundamental problem with Weitzman's argument is political, not economic. His central idea of an employer sharing revenue with workers threatens the structure of solidarity on which the contemporary labor movement is based. If steelworkers' wages are tied to the revenue of their employer, those employees are going to begin identifying their interests with the interests of their employer. If the firm expands, they do well. If it falls by the wayside, they lose out. In either case, they will no longer have interests in common with employees at other firms, for they will be enemies.

Coordinated bargaining in the steel, automobile and mining industries was one of the great achievements of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It helped create the sense that workers could help themselves only by defending others, and it took millions of industrial workers out of wage competition with one another. Under Weitzman's proposals, such competition would creep back in.

Let us imagine that G.M. is expanding at Ford's expense and hiring more workers. As it does so, its wage-sharing system will allow the company to cut wages. Meanwhile, Ford's wages have remained higher. Can anyone doubt that under these conditions, Ford would demand, and get, wage cuts from its employees? The result would surely be a decrease in wages all around.

More important, as workers increasingly identified their interests with those of their boss, the labor movement's ability to function collectively would atrophy. Labor might well lose its battle

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to maintain minimum-wage laws, to enforce occupational health and safety legislation, to secure fair trade rules. Down this road lies the "free" competition of eighteenth-century England.

Of course, Martin Weitzman is not the only person prescribing a dose of competition for American workers. The free-market myth has astonishing staying power, and right now it's beguiling even some powerful labor leaders. Labor-management cooperation to make U.S. firms competitive in world markets is official policy in many trade unions. *Inside The Circle: A Union Guide to QWL*, by Mike Parker, an electrician at Ford's River Rouge plant in Detroit, is a remarkable attack on the logic and practice of the cooperation strategy. Disturbed by what he saw happening to the United Automobile Workers as a result of its participation in quality of work-life (Q.W.L.) programs, Parker took advantage of his periodic layoffs from 1982 to 1984 to examine what was happening to other unionists. His report is disquieting.

While many trade union leaders hope that union participation in quality of work-life programs will increase the union's prestige by improving conditions in the workplace, Parker reports that precisely the opposite is happening. In thousands of plants around the country, workers are turning to work teams, or quality circles, instead of to the union for help in solving daily problems. When companies refuse to improve lighting or ventilation in collective bargaining sessions but then respond with alacrity to the same requests from their Q.W.L. teams, the prestige of the steward and the union declines rapidly.

But there is more to Parker's argument. Through a shrewd analysis of the programs to train employees for participation in a Q.W.L. project, Parker has discovered that the quality circles can easily be manipulated to give the appearance of functioning democratically, when in fact they help teach workers to identify with and think like management. After all, management consultants write the training programs, and managers dominate the work teams, set the agendas and decide what ideas can be implemented. Conscientious workers, in the meantime, try hard to make the project succeed. They resent workers who dissent, cause problems or fail to maintain production, although the force of peer pressure is such that

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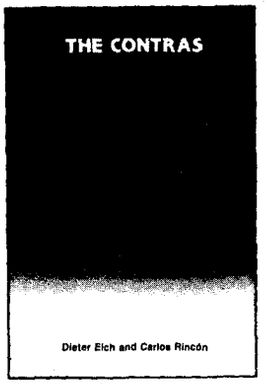

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troublemakers are few and far between.

Almost inevitably, even the most independent workers start to think like their bosses. Can poor quality be traced to one team member? Get rid of him. Can production workers rearrange work so that inspectors are unnecessary? Lay them off. Can our plant outproduce a sister plant in Kansas? Let's underbid them, and win their contract away.

Parker's message is couched in straightforward descriptions of what's happening on shop floors and offices today. The vacuous and pious generalizations common to most proponents of quality of work-life programs, labor-management cooperation and profit-sharing are absent here. So is the dogmatism. Parker is realistic enough to see that many unions can't afford to forbid their members' participation in Q.W.L. programs. And, so, despite his strong reservations, he outlines a reasonable strategy for defending the union while participating in Q.W.L.

Nevertheless, the salient image that emerges from Parker's book is that of thousands of unionized workers learning to compete with one another, and that's a losing strategy for labor. The problem is to find a winning one. A good many trade unionists uncomfortable with the notion of labor-management cooperation probably practice it anyway for lack of an alternative. Now that corporate America has unleashed the forces of global competition, labor will have to forge tighter bonds of solidarity if it is to continue to protect workers' interests. □

Swords to Plowshares

RICHARD CAPLAN

ECONOMIC CONVERSION: Revitalizing America's Economy. *Edited by Suzanne Gordon and Dave McFadden. Ballinger. 257 pp. Paper $12.95.*

Because the business of defense is often just that, business, the politics of defense does not always reward the courageous. It certainly did not favor Representative William H. Gray 3d, who, in an address before the National Press Club last February, announced that he would support the closing of Philadelphia's Navy Yard, located just outside his district, to help curtail the Pentagon's ballooning budget. Whatever plaudits Gray received for his remarks, none were heard in Philadelphia. Realizing the gravity of his gaffe—some 11,000 jobs are at stake—Gray promptly released a statement assuring his constituents that he would consider eliminating only those military facilities that are "outdated, wasteful or unnecessary," which, he naturally added, the Navy Yard is not.

Gray's dilemma is a familiar one. It explains why our legislators vote for a nuclear freeze one day and the MX missile the next. As one defense worker bluntly put it, "Don't bite the war that feeds you." Alternatives do exist, however. Gray could have affirmed his commitment to jobs without approving of Philadelphia's reliance on the Pentagon to subsidize the city's economic development—a rather dubious subsidy at that, since Philadelphia, like most cities, pours more of its tax dollars into the Pentagon's coffers than it receives in the way of military contracts. He might have suggested that the Navy Yard be converted into a civilian enterprise. To support that position Gray could have pointed to Penn Ship in neighboring Chester, which has already demonstrated that shipyards can build bridge spans. And better bridges, he might have reminded his audience, would help restore America's deteriorating infrastructure, thus generating a ripple effect of economic benefits in a way that the Navy Yard's current task—overhauling aircraft carriers—could never do.

As this saga of a missed opportunity makes clear, economic conversion, like its religious namesake, requires a certain awakening before it can take hold. To that end, these fifteen essays assembled by Suzanne Gordon and Dave McFadden could well be the basis for a new catechism.

This is not to suggest that *Economic Conversion* provides complete or easy solutions. But its discussion of earlier experiments in conversion, whether from military to civilian production or, in another sense, from "rust" to robust industries, reveals the elements of a useful strategy. Conversion clearly requires long-range planning based on a careful

Richard Caplan writes on defense economics and has worked for the Philadelphia Jobs with Peace campaign.

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understanding of what alternative products a firm can produce, what sources of finance are available to it and how the new products can be marketed. Corporations engage in this kind of thinking all the time, but they are generally guided solely by their commitment to profit, often at the expense of socially useful production.

If conversion is not to be an isolated phenomenon, this planning must be matched on the national level by the resolve to constrain what Seymour Melman calls our "permanent war economy." And further macroeconomic initiatives, such as plant-closing legislation or government-subsidized research and development, may be needed to facilitate conversion of declining industries in the civilian sector.

The obstacles to conversion are formidable. Not the least of them is the enduring myth that military spending is somehow necessary for a healthy economy. Several contributors to *Economic Conversion* effectively explode this myth. On the issue of the military budget and jobs, Robert W. DeGrasse Jr. demonstrates that almost any form of public investment generates employment and that almost any form would do it better than military investment. John E. Ullmann and David Gold each address the Pentagon's diversion of financial and technological resources from the civilian sector and the consequent erosion of this country's comparative advantage in the world market. Only a cynic can take comfort from the fact that while you may not be able to find an American-made cassette recorder anymore, you can't buy a tank made in Japan either.

Those who gain most from the military spending myth are, of course, the defense contractors. High profit margins, guaranteed sales, minimal competition and government-sanctioned suspension of rigorous cost controls make the military arena an especially alluring one. Gordon Adams's classic analysis of the Iron Triangle, reprinted here, explores the institutionalized practices of contractors, Congress and the Pentagon that protect military industries from the vicissitudes of the market and the pressures of democracy. We begin to realize that the Department of Defense thrives on the very system it seems determined to eliminate from the rest of the world: the planned economy.

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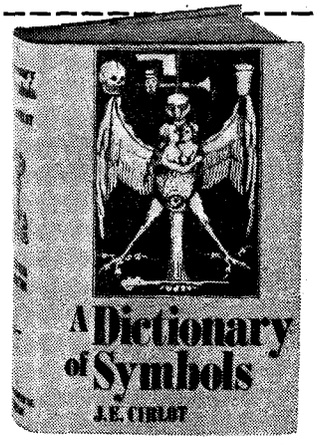

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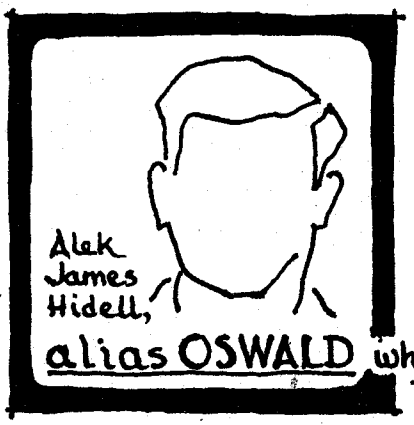

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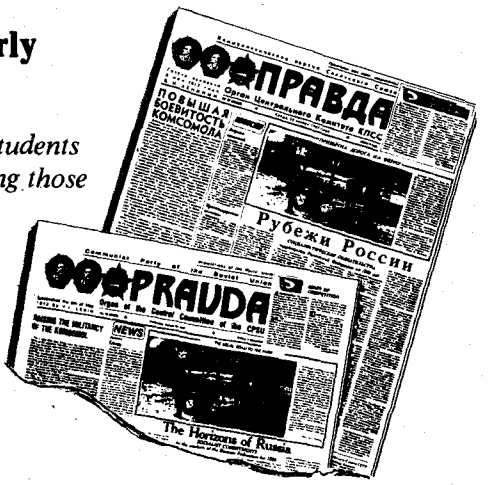

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many as fifty advisory committees to the D.O.D. and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and with personnel moving freely between industry and government (Adams cites a study of the Pentagon and the eight leading defense contractors which notes that 2,000 individuals passed through the revolving door during the 1970s, many occupying key research and development positions), it is not surprising that the wishes of business and the desires of the Pentagon are often identical.

Historically, the war economy has been virtually impervious to the criticisms of its opponents. Until recently opposition to military spending has been vociferous but relatively small. Organized labor, for instance, has traditionally supported extravagant military budgets and an interventionist foreign policy, as Lance Compa reports in his survey of labor history. But as U.S. capital takes flight to countries with lower labor costs and as labor becomes skeptical about the benefits of increased military spending, an unprecedented and potentially powerful coalition of labor, community, religious and peace groups is pressing for economic conversion.

If peace groups were once naïve enough to think that they could shame defense workers into abandoning their "immoral" labor, the disarmament movement today is more sensitive to the bread-and-butter issue that makes those workers victims, not perpetrators, of a crime. As a result, talk of conversion frequently accompanies calls for the reduction of military spending. "Without conversion," Gene Carroll observes, "any successful nuclear freeze campaign would put 300,000 workers on the unemployment lines."

But many of the contributors to this volume also insist that to court the labor constituency effectively, the disarmament movement must express its solidarity with those workers left jobless because of plant closings and layoffs due to capital flight and mismanagement. And conversion activists must be concerned not only with the military industries but with the revitalization or conversion of ailing industries and hazardous ones. It is this understanding that led the Philadelphia Jobs with Peace campaign last year to establish its Crunch Action Team. Union locals that found themselves in a "crunch" could now count on the group to

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add its voice of protest to theirs.

The final battle is the one that will be waged to reorder our national priorities. Lloyd J. Dumas's analysis of legislative strategies is excellent in this respect. One only wishes it contained a more substantial discussion of pending legislation—especially the Mavroules bill, which would require advance notice for the closing or cutback of war-related facilities, temporary assistance for displaced workers and funding for alternative production. Passage of the bill would make costly and unnecessary military projects less tempting to maintain. It is one piece of legislation that would help the William Grays out of their unfortunate dilemma. □

The Apartheid Landscape

VIVIENNE WALT

FREEDOM RISING. *By James North. Macmillan. 336 pp. $19.95.*

James North (pseudonym for Dan Swanson) left America for southern Africa in 1978 to "see for himself" what life was like here. He thought he might stay a year, earning money as a freelance writer. Four and a half years later he returned home, having learned that his vision of apartheid "had been very largely inaccurate" and that, far from being some African version of 1950s Deep South racism, it is "an enormously complex, sophisticated and modern system of racial and economic domination."

To border officials and those who picked him up during his long hitchhiking expeditions throughout the subcontinent, North remained Dan Swanson, a politically disinterested American geography student. But he also made several close friends ("I went to some of their funerals," he writes drily). By the time he left he had acquired a South African accent and had become involved in the country's political struggle, conveying messages to South Africa for exiled members of the African National Congress.

North describes countless meetings with people of all colors, ages and political views. (He was impressed by the thriving art of storytelling among South Africans—for which he thanks the government's refusal to introduce television until 1976.) At times the style of *Freedom Rising* is so journalistic that it obscures North's thorough grasp of current historical and theoretical debates about South African politics. Along with the usual list of editors and patient friends, he acknowledges in his preface the historians who have "strongly influenced" him, including Martin Legassick, Charles van Onselen and Phil Bonner. It is the work of these revisionists, as they call themselves, that provides the framework for his reporting. Over the last fifteen years they have virtually rewritten South African history and changed its focus, believing that the mundane concerns of the people are as historically significant as diplomacy, legislation and war.

The new history tells us that far from being an all-powerful monolith, the South African state has always been challenged by forces inside and outside the country and has had to maneuver itself around these threats to its stability. The apartheid laws have been crucial to this operation: the Bantustan policy and the pass laws were instituted from a position not of strength but of weakness. "Apartheid as a philosophy," says North, "was obviously fragile and internally inconsistent. . . . Separate toilets and laws against black and white boxers entering the same ring were clearly not vital in any economic or political sense. But such ever-present symbols did serve to bolster the rickety social order." With this in mind, the government's repeal this past spring of laws banning mixed marriages and interracial sex can be more clearly understood. The apartheid laws are a valve that has been tightened or loosened as necessary to control social and economic unrest.

North recognizes that the reforms made by the Botha administration are largely cosmetic, but he doesn't dismiss them altogether. They have changed the *form* of apartheid, creating a repressive rule that is based more and more on class and less and less on color. "[The white politicians'] aim," says North, "which they made no secret of, was to create and nurture a black middle class as a bulwark against revolutionary change."

Unlike many non-South African writ-

Vivienne Walt is a South African journalist living in New York City.

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ers, North sees Afrikaner nationalism in its historical context: not as a perversity of the last white tribe of Africa but as a weapon against British colonial rule during the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s which has become a tool to "strengthen [the Afrikaners'] domination over [their] fellow countrymen." What sets Afrikaners apart from other ruling minorities is that after 150 years of struggle for control they are "confusing, paradoxical people, a mixture of the most extreme and often contradictory qualities."

Among the Afrikaners interviewed in *Freedom Rising* are radicals like Frikkie Conradie, a white preacher in a black church outside Johannesburg, and the Rev. Beyers Naudé, head of the liberal South African Council of Churches. North also introduces us to several reactionary Afrikaners, some of them people he stayed with while hitchhiking. Fanie Pretorius, who works shifts at a giant steel mill, tells North despairingly that "the coon can learn to do only one easy thing at a time." Even in his descriptions of these meetings, North keeps his sense of humor and his eye for detail: "Fanie and I . . . preceded our talk with a quick supply mission to the local bottle store. We paused outside the apartment block to admire his gigantic 1300-cc motorcycle and his huge yellow Chevrolet."

North's stories about his black friends suggest that they, too, have become living contradictions in their struggle to carve out satisfying lives under apartheid. Here is his description of a visit to Mitchell's Plain, a wind-swept ghetto built for the "coloreds" (South Africans of mixed-race) who were evicted from District Six in downtown Cape Town:

> It was Saturday afternoon. We found a small party already in progress at the electrician's brother's place. About a dozen people, all of them colored, were sitting around in the small, tidy living room. A stereo played Earth, Wind and Fire. Albums by other black American groups were scattered about. A bottle of brandy and a bottle of Coke stood in the middle of an oval table, ready to mix the national drink. On one wall, a stylized poster showed an anonymous black man looking imploringly upward. The caption was: "I Have a Dream." A raucous gaggle of children gave me a brief, curious glance, and then returned to their play. I learned later one of them was named Elvis.

North based himself in Manzini, Swaziland, partly, he says, to avoid what the novelist Ezekiel Mphahlele calls "the bludgeoning effect" of apartheid. He also gained a wider perspective on southern African politics. He was in touch with South African exiles in Swaziland and knew, for example, how strongly Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 was viewed as a prelude for what might happen farther south. He visited Rhodesia's capital, Salisbury (now Harare), in November 1979, three

THE WORK

Cold glass of canvas, good fit
to begin with. The mirror's a gemini
where clouds of his breath

unform across lapses of silver. It takes
a thunder of glances to get the face.
Still, the work is true enough

to life: extremes, necksaving luck, flourishes
done under with cyclones of retouched color.
Though it's true, to paint a mirror

he has to face weather, the wind
as it bends the frame. The brush hairs
trail beaded wakes. How long

the work goes on
these years the body becomes, these years.
How the image of the life alters with life

itself, or else would split silver, undo
the face and hands, stroke
edges from within.

A.E. Stringer

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months before the independence elections brought Robert Mugabe's Zanu Party to power with a landslide victory. There he befriended Lawrence Hodza, a waiter at a bar, who guided him through Zimbabwean politics and introduced him to his Zanu-supporting family. While whites on the other side of Salisbury hurriedly packed their bags, North and Hodza celebrated the election results in a noisy beer hall and talked of a bright future.

Needless to say, North expresses some disillusionment about the violence and repression in Zimbabwe in the chapter describing his return a year later. But he is careful to give the Zanu government its due: "That these people, some of the poorest in the whole world, are now in a position where they have a chance to create their own democracy may in the end be the best justification for the long and terrible war that they had no other choice but to fight."

There is no such hindsight in South Africa. North ends his book with the funeral of Neil Aggett, a white doctor and trade unionist who died in jail in February 1982—an event that he says affected him more than any other during his years in southern Africa. He describes the mixture of sorrow and hope that characterized the procession, which drew 15,000 people of all races into the streets of Johannesburg to sing the praises of a white radical: "Black street cleaners in their dirty blue overalls gathered in a knot, bowed their heads slightly, as if in brief, silent prayer, and raised their fists."

Although North does not say so, perhaps Aggett's funeral affected him with the sense that but for an accident of birth he himself might have died in South Africa. Certainly he found enough reminders of home there. He describes Johannesburg, for example, as being like "Westchester without the Bronx." American corporations abound throughout the country, from Holiday Inn to IBM; U.S. businesses control about 70 percent of South Africa's high-technology computer market. In the final pages of *Freedom Rising*, North addresses his readers directly, imploring them to support economic sanctions against South Africa:

> As the exiled journalist Donald Woods has pointed out, advocating continued economic links with such an outlaw government is like endorsing investment in Nazi Germany because it provided some employment for Jewish people. □

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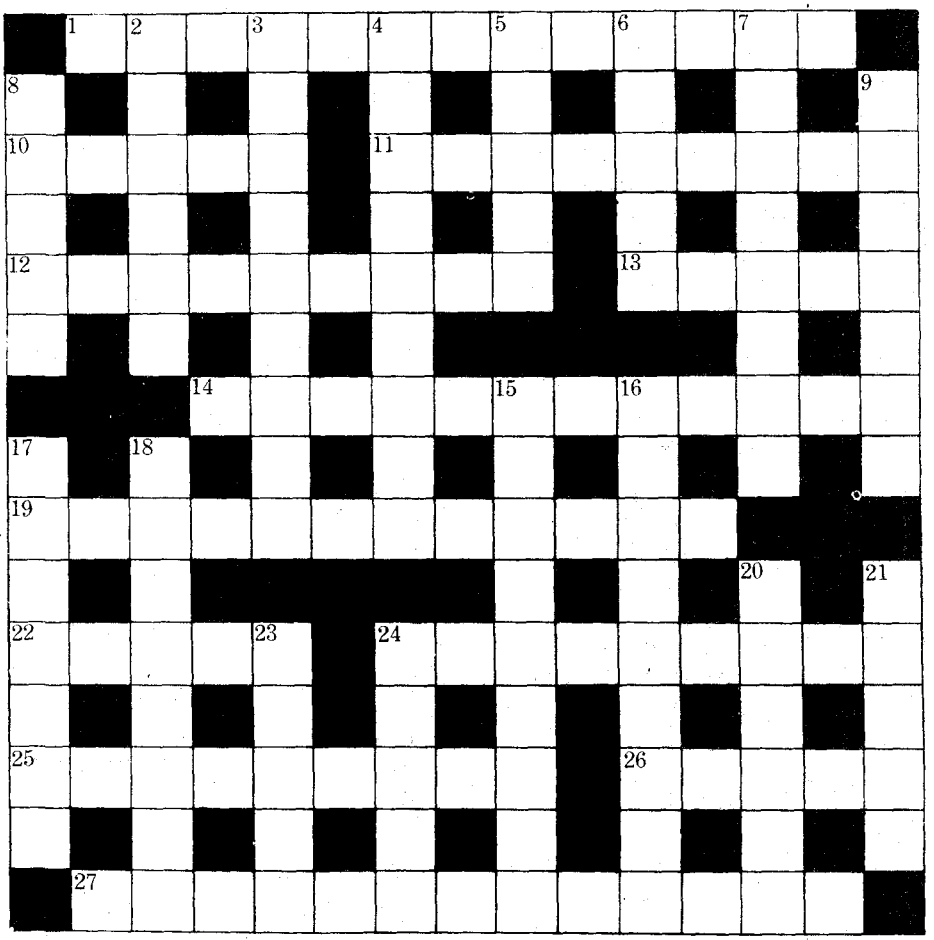

ACROSS

1 Making light packages of things that might be connected with a ring? (6,7)
10 A relatively small number, is it paid by many? (5)
11 Ail with an upset tum-tum? (Laid down, just before trouble starts.) (9)
12 Refers her as being in need of improvement, of course! (9)
13 Small change in coins obtained by graft, possibly. (7)
14 Implying a blushing quartet, but not sincerely so. (12)
19 With a crude cipher, men thus obtain plain English. (12)
22 Bony in a particular way? (A sort of it described Lem as a module.) (5)
24 Running together, the way to take advantage of someone ends up unfelt, perhaps. (9)
25 Copy Gore's letters, if you want something to help with the balance. (9)
26 Might suggest the meaning of "decimal" frequently. (5)
27 Indulged in by the Con Ed lobby? (5,8)

DOWN

2 Give something a 22 quality? (A dead loss if you find it there!) (6)
3 Where you might be in trouble, in the sort of Opus arranged for this? (2,3,4)
4 Big ending to the French, my dear! But such clumsiness! (9)
5 More stern? (Not before this!) (5)
6 A hundred times the electromotive force of one volt acting through a resistance of one ohm! (One does it out on holiday, perhaps.) (5)
7 Involved by necessity, as a way to follow when in need, in trouble. (8)
8 Where the eggs develop nothing, and change somewhat. (5)
9 Man's got mixed up in the midst of this. (7)
15 What to do with it? Candy for fruitcake! (7)
16 A safe hit and not a safe hit! You might call attention to things like this! (6,3)
17 One who rates the commercials, by decree? (7)
18 This sort of race is no problem for those responsible for the plot. (8)
20 One of those Beantown players? (6)
21 Does it involve getting even, as an insect might? (5)
23 Giving attention to her wartime work, you might find it riveting. (5)
24 The baby's cough might be due to a turn in what the farmer grows. (5)

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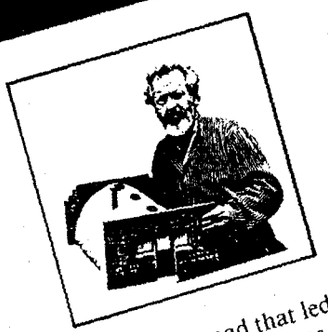
Los Angeles Times

Old Warrior Now on Road to Nicaragua



The same road that led Abe Osheroff to fight in the Spanish Civil War as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade now is leading him to Nicaragua.

"In 1937, I went to Spain to defend the right of a people to self-determination which was threatened by Hitler and Mussolini," he said, "and in 1985 I'm going to Nicaragua to defend the right of a people for their self-determination, which is threatened by my own country."

But this time, Osheroff isn't carrying a gun to battle for his political viewpoint . . .

CONTRAS DESTROY— *WE BUILD!*

PHOTO BY JASON BLEIBTREU

The Common Sense Foundation is proud to sponsor the Nicaragua Building Project inspired by Abe Osheroff.

Dear Friend,

Recently I went to Nicaragua to see things for myself. I returned, saddened by the enormous problems that small country is grappling with — and angered by the fact that our country is the principle source of many of those problems.

I've chosen to return again, to help by putting my 45 years of skilled construction experience to work. For a country desperately short of housing and building materials, we've developed a structure requiring a fraction of the materials normally needed, and a minimum of semi-skilled labor.

I will direct a crew of 15 volunteers, including my two sons. We will train local people in the method and we will leave all of our equipment behind for them.

$50,000 will create 50 new houses, the opportunity for the work to continue—and proof that there are North Americans who want to help build Nicaragua, not destroy it.

Please help this dream come true.

Abe Osheroff

Your contribution will buy:

- ☐ $2000 Community Water Supply
- ☐ $1000 House for Family of 6
- ☐ $ 500 Roof for a House
- ☐ $ 250 Medical Needs for Crew
- ☐ $ 100 Door and Windows
- ☐ $ 50 Feeds 1 Volunteer for one month

Contributions are tax-deductible, and should go to:
Common Sense Foundation
P.O. Box 9224, Marina del Rey, CA 90295
Earmarked NICARAGUA BUILDING PROJECT

☐ YES Abe! I want to help this dream come true!

☐ $2000 ☐ $1000 ☐ $500 ☐ $250 ☐ $100 ☐ $50

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